muslim patronage to sanskritic learning

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHRY

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

PART I

BY

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SUPPLEMENTS:

1. Text and Translation of
SOME LAUDATORY VERSES
on the Mahomedan Patrons of Sanskritic Learning

2. THE ĀSAF-VILĀSA ĀKHYĀYIKĀ
by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja
(ed. for the first time)

IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI

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DELHI (INDIA)

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of Part I of the Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning was exhausted within a few months of its publication in 1942. Since then, I had been contemplating to bring out a second edition; but this did not materialise on account of my other pre-occupations, particularly because, new works were constantly being undertaken and published in succession. I must, however, acknowledge my gratitude in this connection to the Government of United Bengal for purchasing a large number of copies of the first edition for distribution all over India and outside. Numerous requests from all quarters reached me in the mean time for bringing out a second edition; so I do hope, though belated, this edition will receive the same appreciation as the first one did.

This edition has been thoroughly revised and all up-to-date informations incorporated into it, particularly, on the basis of my own researches into the subject at hand and allied subjects. However, as so many new and important materials could not be utilized in this volume, two more volumes will be published soon in the same series.

The Pracyavani is extremely grateful to MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD Minister of Education, Government of India, for kindly extending his benign helping hand for bringing out the publications of the Institute. The Government of India have very kindly borne half the cost of publication of the present work as of several other works to be soon published by the Pracyavani.

Prācyavāṇī,
19th February, 1954.

J. B. CHAUDHURI

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This work presents for the first time a systematic history of the contribution of Mahomedan rulers and scholars to Sanskritic Learning and the manifold attempts of several Mahomedan rulers to spread the same during their rule in India. A large number of Sanskrit MSS. has been used for collecting first-hand and authentic informations about the poets and their royal patrons. Some of the anthological works used for this purpose are being edited for the first time in my Series No. 4: The Saṃskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha.

The Supplement consists of the Sanskrit Text of some of the laudatory verses on the Royal Moslem patrons of Sanskritic Learning (along with their translations) and also of the Āsaf-vilāsa Ākhyāyikā of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, edited here for the first time.

Thanks are due to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for kindly lending for my use the unique MSS. of the Subhāṣita-hārāvalī of Hari Kavi, Padya-veṇī by Veṇīdatta, Sabhyā-laṃkaraṇa by Jagajjīvana, the Payāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of Haribhāskara, the Āsaf-vilāsa of Jagannātha and so on. As these are the only MSS. of the respective works that are known to exist, my gratitude to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is indeed very great.

Presidency College,
Calcutta,
1942.

J. B. C.

CONTENTS

SUPPLEMENTS

APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION

Communal fraternity may be of two kinds: Sentimental and intellectual. The former implies religious fusion and the latter mutual love for the languages and literatures of each other. Both these interrelated aspects of communal harmony became manifest during Moslem rule in India. The object of the present work is to give an authoritative account of the second aspect only. So, only a brief outline of the first aspect is given below.

Power of assimilation is the characteristic feature of Indian people. Whatever be the creed, it is by and by absorbed by the great assimilating force of Mother India. The consequence in the Mediaeval ages has, therefore, been the fusion of Mahomedan and Hindu Culture and Civilization. The innermost heart of the Indian people is always alert to receive the Truth, whatever be the source and in doing so, it knows no barrier,—of caste and creed. This is exemplified best in the grand intermixture of Hinduism and Mahomedanism in Mediaeval times. Even to-day the Hindus honour no less than the Mahomedans the great reformer saint Makhdūm Saiyad Ali al Hūjwiri who was originally an inhabitant of Ghazni. His disciple Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1236), brought very close together both the Hindus and Moslems in their quest of the Supreme Soul. As a

consequence of this intermixture of both the creeds, the Husaini Brahmanas of Rajputana are found following Mahomedan practices though mostly they follow Hindu customs and rituals; again, the Imam-Shahi sect are found following the authority of the Atharva-veda and of Niṣkalaṅka. The great saints advocating Sufīism such as Nizāmuddin Aulia, Farīduddin Shakarganj, Karim Shāh, Shāh Inayat Shāh Kalandar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life; as a consequence, Hinduism or Mahomedanism as a creed mattered little to them. The celebrated saint Bābā Fattu of Kangra was a disciple of Hindu saint Gulab. He was worshipped alike both by the Hindus and Mahomedans of the Punjab. The Khojas and the followers of Musā Suhāg are tremendously influenced by Hinduism while the Piran Panthins worship Niṣkalaṅka. The Muslim lady Tāj was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa and wrote many songs on Him as Supreme Soul. In spiritual life there was thus a great synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism—Hindus being the disciples of Muslims and vice versa—all caring for Truth and Sādhanā, not for the external superfluities of Religion. This was the time when new saints like Satyapīra were worshipped by both the communities. And this was the time when caste-system was abhorred and wilfully violated.

In former times Aṇḍāḷ, a woman of low caste, was worshipped by the followers of the Āḷvārs in the South. The works of Pariahs like Thirupam, author of the Tiru Vayamoli, were recognized by religious leaders like Rāmānuja. Later on Caitanya in Bengal, Śaṃkaradeva in Assam, Tukā Rāmā and Nāmadeva in Mahārāṣṭra and similarly, other great religious leaders never cared for caste-system or bothered about distinguishing between Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among the famous pupils of Rāmānanda were Ravidāsa, a shoemaker, Senā a barbar and Kabīr a Mahomedan weaver. Kabīr's life-long mission was a synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism and his noble precepts were translated into action by Nānaka, Dādu, Jīvana Dāsa, Prema Dāsa, Bijli Khān, Rajjab and others. Bari Saheb, Biru Saheb, Yāri Sāheb, Bulla Saheb—whether Hindu or Moslem—all took up one great mission—viz. unity between the Hindus and Moslems in religious as well as social life. Women, too, at this time, came to the forefront of religious rejuvenation as is evidenced by Nānibāī and Mātā Bāī, (daughters of Dādū), Mīrā, Janā Bai Dayābāi, Kṣemā or Kṣemaśrī, Tāj and others.

This internal urge for fraternity between the two leading communities in India became manifest in Literature as well—Vernacular and Classical. The Dohās, etc. in Hindī of great religious leaders—both

Mahomedans and Hindus, are the sources of inspiration and devotion in religious life of the members of both the communities.

Bengali in particular was much enriched by this inner urge for a true religious life—irrespective of caste and creed. Quite a large number of Mahomedan writers—some of them poets of a high order—contributed substantially to Bengali Literature. They were mostly inspired by the Kṛṣṇa cult as preached by Śrī Caitanya; again, there were many who wrote on other subjects. Śrī Caitanya disdained racial or social distinction.[1] The result was that even rulers like Husain Shah soon became attracted to him[2]. Mahomedans all over Bengal not only enjoyed the Padāvalīs but

1. Yavana Haridāsa was one of his favourite disciples. Again, Buddhimanta Khān became a personal attendant of Śrī Caitanya. Vṛndāvanadāsa in his Caitanya-Bhāgavata says :—

बुद्धिमन्त खाने प्रभु दिला आलिङ्गन ।

ताहार आनन्द अति अकथ्य कथन ॥ 10th chapter

The Caitanya-caritāmṛta, chapter 10, records :—

श्रीचैतन्येर अतिप्रिय बुद्धिमन्त खान ।

आजन्म आज्ञाकारी तिहँो सेवक प्रधान ॥

Buddhimanta accompanied him to Nīlācala as well :—

चलिलेन बुद्धिमन्त खान महाशय ।

आजन्म चैतन्य आज्ञा याँहार विषय ॥ 9th chapter

2. ये हुसेन साहा सर्व उडिष्यार देशे ।

देवमूर्ति भाङ्गिलेक देउल विशेषे ।

हेन यवनेओ मानिलेक गौरचन्द्र ॥

themselves became the votaries of the Muse. Nasir Māhmud,[1] Fakir Habib,[2] Saiyad Martujā,[3]

1. Nasir Māhmud dedicates himself to the holy feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa :—

आगम निगम वेद-सार, लीला ये करत गोठ-विहार।

नशीर मामुद करत आश, चरणे शरण दानवि ॥

His Pada of which the above is the end has been included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa.

2. He, too, cannot live without Kṛṣṇa :—

फकिर हबिब बले, कानुरे देखिनु भाले,
येन शशी पूर्ण उदय।
हेन मम करे हिया, कानुरे समुखे थइया
निरवधि देखहुँ सदाय ॥

3. The following Pada of Saiyad Martujā included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa is indeed grand :—

श्याम बँधु, आमार पराण तुमि।
कोन् शुभदिने देखा तोमा सने
पाशरिते नारि आमि ॥
यखन देखिये ओ चाँद-वदने
धैरय धरिते नारि।
अभागीर प्राण करे आनूचान्
दण्डे दशवार मरि ॥
मारे कर दया देह पदछाया
शुन शुन पराण कानु।
कुल शील सब भासाइनु जले
न जीयव तुया विनु ॥

Here the poet himself becomes a woman for 'higher spiritual blessedness' and one is naturally reminded of Cardinal Newman's statement '—"If thy soul wants to attain the higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a woman, yes, however manly thou mayst be among men"

Fatan,[1] Cānd Kāji,[2] etc. have sung the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as enthusiastically and religiously, as gracefully

Cp. also—St, Juan—"Make myself thy brid e. I will rejoice in nothing till I am in thy arms." His Padas on the description of Kṛṣṇa, Māna, Bhāva-sammelana, etc. too are very beautiful.

1. Fatan in one of his Padas depicts Rādhā in separation. Rādhā says:—

आरे मोर एकि परमाद हइल।
छटफट करे हिया कह ना वँधुरे याइया
कि दिया किवा गुण कैल॥
जीते मोर नाहि साध मिछामिछि परिवाद
मिछा पाके ठेकिया रैनु।
एमन करम मोर, कलङ्कर नाहि ओर,
सहिते ना पारि आर कृपा करि कर पार,
जनम अवधि दुःख पाइनु॥
अधम फतनेर साध, क्षम प्रभु अपराध
राङ्गा पाय शरण लैनु॥

2. The picture of Rādhā in love as found below is indeed beautiful:—

बाँशी वाजान जानना
असमय वाजाओ वाँशी पराण माने ना।
यखन आमि वॅसा थाकि गुरुजनार काछे।
तुमि नाम धइरा वाजाओ वाँशी, आर आमि मइरि लाजे॥
ओपार ह'ते वाजाओ वाँशी, एपार हइते शुनि।
आर अभागिया नारी हाम हे साँतार नाहि जानि॥
ये झाडेर वाँशेर वाँशी, से झाडेर लागि पाँओ।
जडे मूले उपाडिया यमुनाय भासाँओ॥
चाँद काजि वले वाँशी शुने झरे मरि।
जीमु ना जीमु ना आमि ना देखिले हरि॥

and sweetly as possible. Alirājā,[1] Ākbar Sāhā,[2] Kabir,[3]

1. He flourished somewhere near Feni in Chittagong. One of his Padāvalīs ends as follows :—

ये शुने तोमार वंशी   से वड देवेर अंशी
प्रचारि कहिते वासि भय।
गृहवासे किवा साध   वंशी मोर प्राणनाथ
गुरुपदे अलिराजा कय॥

2. One of his Padas is devoted to the description of the physical charm of Caitanyadeva :—

जिउ जिउ मोर मन चोर गोरा।
आपहि नाचत आपना रसे भोरा ॥ध्रु ॥
खोल करताल वाजे झिकि झिकिया।
आनन्दे भकत नाचे लिकि लिकिया॥
पद दुइ चारि चलु नट नटिया।
थिर नाहि होयत आनन्दे मातोयालिया॥
ऐछन पहुके याहु वालहारि।
साह आकवर तोर प्रेम भिखारी॥

3. He depicts an excellent picture of Rādhā followed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the sports during Holi :—

वरज किशोरी फागु खिलत रङ्गे।
चूया-चन्दन,   आवीर गोलाव
देयत श्यामेर अङ्गे॥
फागु हाते करि   फिरत श्रीहरि
फिरि फिरि बोलत राइ।
घुमट उठामें   वयान छपायत
वेरि वेरि थैसे मेघसे चाँद लुकाइ॥
ललिता एक सखी,   फागु हाते करि
देयत कानु नयान।
वृकभानु किशोरी   दुहुँ बाहु धरि
मारत श्याम वयान॥
आओर एक सखी,   जाउ जाउ करि
काँहा लागाओ आवीर।
कमरि फागु लेइ,   कान नयान वेरि वेर देयत
हा हा करत कबीर॥

Sekh Bhikhan,[1] Sekh Jālāl, Sekhlāla, etc. are also poets of no mean order. They have written on various Mood-types of women as described in the Alaṃkāra and Kāma Śāstras with particular reference to Rādhā, and also on Kṛṣṇa as Supreme Soul and Śrī Caitanya as an incarnation of God.

1. Rādhā in her "Khaṇḍitā" mood is depicted nicely in one of his Padas. Kṛṣṇa passed the night somewhere else and naturally—Rādhā's wrath knows no bounds. She takes Kṛṣṇa to task : —

सवाइ वले राधार पराण कानाइ ।
तुमि रजनी वञ्चिले कोन ठाँइ ॥ध्रु॥
केमन वानाले चूडा, श्रवणे दुलितेछे
मेलिते नार दुटि आँखि ।
हव ना मथुरा गति कि कव चूडार भीति,
श्याम-अङ्गे लागियाछे साखि ॥
कुङ्कुम कस्तूरी आर, सुगन्धि ताम्बुल,
थुइयाछिनु सियर उपर ।
हा हरि हा हरि करि, जागिया पोहानु निशि
तुमि छिले काहार मन्दिर ॥
सेख भिखन भणे, बड दुःख राइयेर मने,
पाशरिले पूरव पीरिति ।
आमार करम दोषे तुमि थाक अन्य पाशे
हउक येन राधार मिरिति ॥

Just as, on the one hand, many Moslems helped the spread of the Hindu Culture and Civilization by honouring their religious sentiments and ideas, by following many of their rites and rituals, by patronising and contributing to Sanskritic Literature—so, on the other hand, many Hindu devotees and scholars, too, were the torch-bearers of Islamic Culture and Civilization, by preaching the innermost truth of Islam and paying homage to the Prophet and Moslem saints, by observing many Moslem practices and by patronising, and contributing to, Persian and Urdu Literature.

Thus, there was a great synthesis of Hindu and Moslem Cultures and Civilizations during Moslem rule in India. It was possible in those days for individuals of different leanings and capacities to follow the creeds and pursue the course of studies that suited them best, without communal bias and social bar. Otherwise, there could not have been so many Moslem devotees of Hindu saints, etc. and so many Mahomedan scholars in Sanskritic studies just as there could not have been numerous Hindu disciples of Moslem saints and votaries of Islamic Learning. If this could happen even during an age when the relation between the two communities was that between the ruler and the ruled, there is no inner reason why it should not be the case to-day also, when no such relationship exists.

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

It is well-known that the Moslem rulers of India were great patrons of Learning and Fine Arts. But the fact that many of them liberally patronised Sankritic Culture and Learning as well, is not generally known. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, many valuable records of their scholarly achievements are irreparably lost to us and the surviving literature also is available only in MSS. scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and it enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences, many Moslem rulers of India were prone to extend their best support to the development of Hindu Culture and Civilization. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India. That is why it is essential for us to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Moslem rule in India.

Of the Sanskrit poets who adorned the courts of the

Moslem rulers, three of the greatest are Bhānukara, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. In this work I shall first give brief accounts of their lives and literary activities on the basis of the informations collected from the various unpublished MSS. of their works, anthologies preserving some of their verses, etc.

Of the Mohomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are Shahabuddin, Nizām Shāh, Sher Shāh, Ākbar, Shāh Jahan, Muddāfar Shāh, Burhān Khān and others. Some of the poets patronised by them are,—apart from Bhānukara, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Paṇḍitrāja,—Amṛtadatta, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, Harinārāyaṇa Miśra, Vaṃśīdhara, Lakṣmīpati and so on. Short accounts of the lives and literary activities of these poets also are given below.[1]

The arrangement followed here is chronological.

BHĀNUKARA

Bhānukara is not only of the earliest of the poets mentioned above but also seems to have enjoyed the widest popularity as a poet. The Rasika-jīvana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa of Govindajit, Padya-veṇī of Veṇīdatta, Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of Haribhāskara, Subhāṣita-hārāvalī of Hari Kavi and Subhā-

1. See also the second volume of this Series which will soon be published.

ṣitasāra-samuccaya the last two of which have not been published as yet contain about 160 verses of Bhānukara. The Padyaracanā published in the Kāvya-mālā Series alone contains 180 verses many of which are not found in the above six unpublished anthological works.

LIFE AND DATE

Bhānukara vs. Bhānudatta and personal history

The evidence of the anthological works is in support of the identity of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta, author of the Gīta-Gaurīśa and its ṭippaṇa, Kāvya-dīpikā, Rasa-mañjarī and its commentary as well as Rasa-taraṅgiṇī all of which are available in print and also of the Kumāra-bhārgavīya (a campū based on the Purāṇas), Alaṃkāra-tilaka and Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā which are as yet unpublished[1]. Quite a large number of verses quoted under the name of Bhānukara are traced in the Rasa-mañjarī,[2]

1. Kumāra Bh., India Office Library MS. 1540. Alaṃkāra T., Tanjore MSS, Catalogue, IX. 1407 and Mysore, 295. Śṛṅgāra D., Cat. Cat. I. 661.

2. अयं रेवा-कुञ्जः, etc.=SA. 234=RM. 21, p. 50; आजप्तं किल, etc.=SSS. 836=RM. 4, p. 9; एते वारि-कणान्, etc.=SA 270=RM. 29, p. 65; कान्ते कनक-जम्बीरं, etc.=SA. 327=RM. 112, p. 138; चन्द्रोदये चन्दन°, etc.=SA. 303=SSS. 178=RM 79, p. 141; तमोजटाले, etc.=SA. 326r v. 111, p. 188; त्वं दूति निरगाः, etc.=SSS. 606=RM. 33, p. 75; त्वं पीयूष, etc.=SA, 312=RM. 100, p. 166; दासाय भवन, etc.=SA. 246=RM. 24, p. 57; दुःखं दीर्घतरं, etc.=SHV. 1944=RM, 39, p. 91; दूती विद्युदुपागता=SSS. 177=RM. 75, p. 136; दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्गण, etc.=SA.

Gīta-Gauriśa,[1] and Rasa-taraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta[2]. (2) The same verses are found in different important anthologies under the names of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. (3) One of Bhānukara's verses (Serial no. 789) has been quoted by Veṇīdatta in his Padya.veṇī

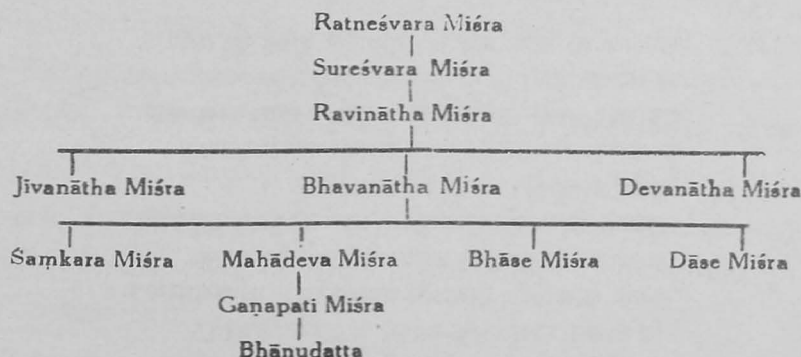
273=RM. 32, p. 72; नखक्षतमुरःस्थले, etc.=SSS- 752=RM. 11, p. 25; नायं मुञ्चति, etc.=SA. 690=RM. 86. p. 149; निद्रालु-केकि०, etc.=SA. 267=RM. 28, p. 63; नीरात्तीरमुपागता, etc.=SA. 189=RM. 5, p. 11; पल्लीनामधिपस्य, etc.=SSS. 181=RM. 81, p. J42; माला बालाम्बुज०, etc.=SSS. 582=RM. 41, p. 94; रभसादपि, etc.=SA. 292=RM. 78, p. 239; लोलालिपुञ्ज, etc.=SA. 206=RM. 12, p. 30; शङ्का-शृङ्खलितेन, etc.=PV. 464=RM. 105, p. 172; शून्यं कुञ्ज-गृहं, etc.=PV. 361=RM. 56, p. 144; संस्पृश्य स्तन०=SSS. 20=RM. 10, p, 22; स्नातं वारिद०, etc.=SA. 288=PV. 363=RM. 62, p. 121; हस्ते धृताऽपि, etc.=SSS. 825=RM. 7, p. 15.

1. आत्मीयं चरणं दधाति=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 3=Rasa-mañjarī, I=Gīta-Gaurīpati, p. 90, 2; अकरोः किमु नेत्र-शोणिमानं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 53. x. 5=Rasa-mañjarī, v. 51=Gīta-Gaurīpati, p. 146; जीवेन तुलितं प्रेम, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 42, v. 18=Gīta-Gaurīśa, p. 18, 4; यदेतल्लावण्यं, etc,=Padya-racanā, p. 7, v. 38—with slight alterations in reading=Gīta-Gaurīśa, p. 48, 7.

2. विना सायं कोऽयं समुदयति, etc.=Rasika-jīvana, fol.=Padya-racanā, p. 33, v. 25=Subhāṣita-hārāvalī, v. 89=Rasa-taraṅgiṇī *Benares ed.*, p. 14; भित्तौ भित्तौ प्रतिफलगतं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 21=RT., p. 42; निष्पीते कलशोद्भवेन जलधौ, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 21, v. 32=Sūkti-sundara,=RT., p. 45a; सौन्दर्यस्य मनोभवेन गणना, etc.=Rasika-jīvana=RT., p. 53; अनुवनमनुयान्तं बाष्प-वारि, etc.=PR. p. 86, v. 19=RT., p. 77; भूयादेष सतां हिताय, etc.=PR, p. 2, v. 10 दिव्यहरेर्मुख-कुहरे, etc.=PR., p. 87, v. 26=RT. p. 81a.

as 'Gaṇapatiputra-Bhānukarasya'[1] and from the last verse of the Rasamañjarī[2] etc. as well as from the Pañjīs of Mithilā,[3] we come to know that Bhānudatta was the son of Gaṇapati. (4) Moreover Bhānudatta refers to Nizāma-Dharaṇīpāla in verse 121 of his Rasa-mañjarī[4] and in the anthologies several verses ascribed to Bhānukara are devoted to the eulogies of Nizam Shah.

Thus it seems that Bhānukara is really identical with Bhānudatta. His father's name was Gaṇapati as given in the Padya-veṇī, Rasa-mañjarī as well as the Pañjīs of Mithilā, etc. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about his mother, early life etc.

1. यशोधननिधेः, etc.
2. तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः कवि-कुलालङ्कार-चूडामणि-
   देशो यस्य विदेहभूः सुरसरित्-कल्लोल-किर्मीरिता ।
   पद्येन स्व-कृतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता
   वाग्देवी-श्रुति-पारिजात-कुसुम-स्पर्धाकरी मञ्जरी ॥
3. The Pañjīs of Mithilā furnish the following lineage of Bhānucandra :

4. P. 190, Benares ed.

Bhānudatta himself gives his own genealogy in the Kumāra-bhārgavīya which is quite in agreement with the evidence furnished by the Pañjīs of Mithilā except that in the former Viśvanātha is represented as the son of Sureśvara and Ravinātha as the grandson of Sureśvara, not his son.[1]

Date.

In one of his verses Bhānukara eulogises Sher Shah[2]. As Sher Shah ruled from 1540-1545 A.D., it is evident that Bhānukara flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, if not a bit earlier.

Again, two verses of Bhānukara devoted to the praise of one mighty ruler Kṛṣṇa are preserved in the Padyaracanā of Laṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Ānkolakara.[3] This Kṛṣṇa was, most probably, emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara who ruled from 1509-1530 A.D.

1. See India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. vii, p. 1540.

2. श्लोकार्धं वा तदर्धं यदि हि विनिहितं दूषणं दुर्दुरूढैः
किं नश्छिद्रं तदा स्यात् कवि-कुल-विदुषां काव्यकोटीश्वराणाम् ।
वाहाश्चेद् गन्धवाहाधिक-सुभग-रयाः पञ्चषाः काण-खञ्जाः
का हानिः शेरसाह-क्षितिप-कुलमणेरश्वकोटीश्वरस्य ॥

3. (a) कृष्णां समर-सतृष्णां दृष्टवतो विष्टरश्रवसः ।
राजन्य-जन्म-मूले भुज-मूले [भान्ति] पुलक-मुकुलानि ॥

(b) प्रस्थानं रतिमन्दिरात् कमलिनी-बन्धोरपि प्रेक्षणं
काकुः केलिविधिं विनाऽपि चरण-न्यासः पृथिव्यामपि ।
किं च क्लान्तमतालवृन्तपवनः प्रत्यङ्गमालिङ्गति,
द्रष्टव्यं किमतोऽपि कृष्ण-नृपतेः प्रत्यर्थि-वामभ्रुवाम् ॥

In several verses[1] Bhānukara eulogises one Nizam Shah. Either of the two Nizams who were ruling in India in the first half of the sixteenth century may be referred to by Bhānukara in his verses. One was Boorhan Nizam Shah I and the other Nizam Khan, later on known as Sikander Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.). It is more likely that the former is meant as in some of the verses the Nizam is also addressed as Nizam Shah. Now, Nizam Shah was a general title of the rulers of the Nizam Shahi dynasty whose ruling period extended from 1497 A.D. to 1637 A.D. The particular Nizam Shah who was ruling during the period of Sher Shah's reign was Boorhan Nizam Shah I who ruled from 1510 to 1553 A.D. As he ruled about 43 years, probably the majority of the verses of Bhānukara referring to Nizam Shah would refer to him. The poet referring to Sher Shah as ruler (1940-45 A.D.) cannot be young in age as he professes in the same verse that he himself composed a very large number of verses by that time. Boorhan Nizam Shah already ruled for 39 years when Sher Shah was crowned king. He ruled for 13 years more after the accession of Sher Shah to the throne. Unless the poet was very long-lived, he could not probably praise any other living ruler of the Nizam Shahi dynasty except Boorhan Nizam Shah I.

1. See under the heading *Patrons of Bhānukara.*

In three of his verses[1] Bhānukara refers to one king Vīrabhānu who is represented as lording it over the kings of Delhi, Orissa, Bengal and Gujrat. There were several kings of the same name who ruled before the time of the poet himself[2] and therefore he could not refer to them as living rulers in his verses. The reference may be to king Bhānu of Kacchapa dynasty, father of Bhagavantadāsa and grandfather of Mādhava-

1. (a) लङ्का-धामनि वीरभानु-नृपतेः प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदयं
प्रत्यागारमघोर-नीरजदृशो भूयो हुताश-भ्रमात् ।
क्षुभ्यद्वाणि विधूत-पाणि विगलन्मुक्तामणि प्रस्खलद्-
बाष्प-श्रेणि विलोल-वेणि दयितं कण्ठ-स्थले बिभ्रति ॥

Padya-veṇī, Ms., v. 64 and Sūkti-sundara, Ms., v. 102.

(b) भेरी-भाङ्कृतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनदैः कुम्भीन्द्रकोलाहलैः
प्रस्थाने तव वीरभान दलितं ब्रह्माण्ड-भाण्डोदरम् ।
आधाय ज्वलति प्रताप-दहने रङ्गैः पुनर्वेधसा
तारानायक-तारका सुरसरिद्व्याजादिवाऽऽयोजितम् ॥

Padya-veṇī, Ms., v. 114; Sūkti-sundara, Ms., v. 150.

(c) दिल्लीशो द्वारदेशे नमति गजपतिस्तत्परस्तादुपास्ते
गौडेन्द्रो नम्रमूर्धा तदनु नरपतिर्गुर्जरोर्वीश्वरोऽपि ।
श्रुत्वैवं वन्दि-वृन्दादवनत-वदनो गौरवं तत्र कुर्वन्
वीर श्रीवीरभानो रचयसि पुलकं वीर-लक्ष्मीकपोले ॥

Sāra-saṃgraha of Sambhudāsa Paṇḍita, Ms. of RASB., 31A.

2. See List of Inscriptions and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India by Robert Sewell, Madras, 1884, p. 47 (Vīrabhānudeva inscriptions are dated 1335, 1237-1240 A.D.). Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Raṅgācārya, vol. III, p. 2055, etc. The Ganjam (274) and Vizagapattam inscriptions (96-97) of Vīrabhānu are dated Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) and 1298 (1376 A.D.) respectively.

siṃha and Mānasiṃha. Mādhavasiṃha as the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, author of the Rāga-mañjarī has been referred to by him in his work.[1] The same work also mentions that Mādhavasiṃha the patron and his brother Mānasiṃha were great favourites of emperor Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605 A.D. So chronologically there is not much difficulty in Bhānukara's referring to the grandfather of Mādhavasiṃha, favourite of Akbar. But it is more probable that by Vīrabhānu, Bhānukara really refers to Vaghela Vīrabhānu[2] of Rewah (1540-1555 A.D) who was married to Sukumāradevī and father of Rāmacandra who ruled from 1555 to 1592 A.D. and was a contemporary of Akbar. There is no chronological difficulty; again, reference to Vaghela kings in the verses of Sanskrit poets of the sixteenth century A.D. and the liberal

1. श्रीमत्कच्छप-वंश-दीपक-महाराजाधिराजेश्वर-
तेजःपुञ्ज-महाप्रताप-निकरो भानुः क्षितौ राजते।

2. Imperial Gezeteer of India, vol. XXI, pp. 279ff. In a MS. of Somadeva's Kathā-sarit-Sāgara copied by Rūpaṇi who enjoyed the patronage of Bhāvasiṃha, one of the descendants of Vaghela Vīrabhānu of Rewah, the lineage of Vīrabhānu is given; vide MM. Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol. VII. For a further reference to Vīrabhānu of Rewah, see Pradyotana-Bhattacharya's commentary Sāradāgama on Candrāloka (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 75). The account given here is slightly confusing.

patronage extended by Vaghela kings to Sanskrit scholars, confirm our conjecture.

All the above evidences lead to the conclusion that Bhānukara or Bhānudatta flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Patrons of the poet were Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Vīrabhānu or Rewah, Nizam Shah as well as Sher Shah.

Another evidence helps the positive determination of the lower limit of the date of Bhānukar or Bhānudatta. In connection with showing that some poets wrongly use "Purataḥ" in the sense of "in front of", Jagannātha quotes in his Rasa-Gaṅgādhara[1] the very first line of the Rasa-mañjarī of Bhānudata—आत्मीयं चरणं दधाति पुरतो निम्नोन्नतायां भुवि । Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, author of the Asaf-vilāsa was connected with the court of Shah Jahan who ascended the throne in 1627 A.D. Therefore, Bhānukara quoted by Jagannātha must have flourished before that date.

Patrons of Bhānukara

Bhānukara was liberally patronised both by Hindu and Molem rulers of his time. As we have seen, he adorned the court of king Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Vīrabhānu of Rewah, Sher Shah and Nizam

1. इदमप्यन्यत्तैरेव वाचकोपमेय-लुप्तायामुदाहरणं निरमीयत, etc., pp. 271-272 of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara with Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary, Benares ed.

Shah, Therefore, he seems to have been wandering from place to place, from one court to the other, although we have no means of knowing the exact period of his stay in each.

He appears to have a very great respect for Nizam Shah as he devoted as many as nine verses to his eulogy. Most probably, he wrote many more verses in his praise which are now lost to us. In his verse devoted to the description of the physical charm of the Nizam[1], the poet fancies that the eye of the lovely-browed one, unable to distinguish between Kāma and Nizam, approaches the ear for its help in the matter. In another,[2] he declares that the beautiful foot of the Nizam was made by the Creator for being placed upon the head of the wife of his enemy; the parting line of the hair, the vermilion-dust and the *kundas* on the head represent the foot of the Nizam with shooting rays and beautiful nails.

In one verse[3] he praises Nizam Shah for making magnificent gifts. In order to keep a record of his gifts, Brahmā used the Mandākinī as a piece of chalk and drew a long line on the floor of his house Puṣkara. Brahmā was on the look out for another person at least who would be Nizam's rival in the award of gifts. As he could not find out any, he

1. Padya-racanā, 17. 6 2. Padya-racanā, 16. 4
3. Padya-veṇī, MS., v. v. 100

put a dot by the side of that line which is nothing but the moon.

In one verse[1] Bhānukara gives a glorious description of the march of Nizam Shah for conquest. When he marches out, the earth faints away under the pressure of, and on account of the physical torture caused by, the hoofs of horses. Therefore the sea terribly perturbed and agitated in roaring waves, sprinkles water on her. The Lady presiding over the quarters flutters the flag, generating violent wind; and the dust-storm dashes towards the sky in order to ask the divine physician Āśvina about remedy for recovery from swoon.

In the verse on the sword of the Nizam[2], the king is highly praised for his military skill. His sword is so handled that it instantaneously kills innumerable mighty elephants of his enemies who are consequently vanquished in a moment.

In the verse devoted to the victory of Nizam in battle,[3] the poet says that when the Nizam casts his angry look at his enemies, they all break atwain; even the sun high above begins to tremble and in order to save his own skin, has recourse to the banner of the all-conquering Nizam.

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, MS , v. 91 ; Padya-veṇī, MS., v. 113 ; Rasika-jīvana, MS., fol. 18.
2. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, 85 ; Sūkti-sundara, v. 134.
3. Padya-veṇī, Ms., v. 132.

In the verse on the flag of the Nizam[1] the poet's fancy takes a lofty flight. He assumes that the flag of the Nizam is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. Similarly, in the verse on the prowess of the Nizam.[2] On account of the excessive heat of the king's prowess, the gold all over the universe, even of the Sumeru, melts; as a consequence, the stairs of Indra's palace situated on it fall down, even the sun sinks within the melting gold again and again and the women there are terribly terrified.

In one versre[3] Bhānukara describes the world-wide fame of his patron. Brahmā is engaged in making verses on the glorious deeds of the Nizam with the help of a chalk. The long syllables in the verse stand for the curved lines representing the lunar disc, the conch, the jasmine and the swan and the short ones for the lotus-stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the tusks of an elephant.

Unfortunately, only one verse of the poet in

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī. v. 15; Sūkti-sundara, v. 143 and Padya-veṇī, v. 151.:

2. Padya-veṇī, v. 69 and Sūkti-sundara, u. 105; Rasika-jīvana, MS. No. 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 13.

3. Padya-racanā, 10 8 and Rasika-jīvana, Ms. No. 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 15.

praise of Sher Shah is left to us.[1] Here, he says that it matters little to a poet of his standing who has to his credit innumerable verses if in a verse, or one half of it, the fastidious manage to find some fault or other just as it matters little to Sher Shah if out of crores of horses vying in motion with wind, some five or six happen to be lame or one-eyed.

BHĀNUKARA AS A POET*

The verses of Bhānukara collected from unpublished anthological works may be classified as follows:—

I. *Gods and incarnations of Viṣṇu* (6 verses).

1. Gaṇapati...SA. I (See also Bhānu Miśra for another verse on Gaṇapati, PT. v. 7, p. 3).
2. Śiva...SHV. 27
3. Kṛṣṇa...PV. 866
4. Varāha...PV. 853=SHV. 46 (Viṣṇu)
5. Paraśurāma...PV. 858
6. Buddha...PV. 894=SHV. 74 (Viṣṇu)

II. *Kings* (16 verses)

1. Nizam or Nizam Shah...6 verses: PT. 85=SS. 134 (description of sword); PV. 69=SS. 105 (description of prowess); PV. 100 (description of gifts); PV. 132 (description of the flag);

1. SHV. v. 468.

* For additional verses in the Padya-racanā, see Verses of Bhānukara quoted in the Padyaracanā, p. clxi of the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī.

PT. 84 = SS. 143 = PV. 131 (description of the flag); PT. 91 = SS. 198 (description of the battle-field).

2. Sher Shah...1 verse: SHV. 468
3. Vīrabhānu...3 verses: PV. 64 = SS. 102 (description of prowess): SS. 150 = PV. 114 (description of the marching of the king). The former reads वीरभान and the latter gives the reading वीरवर्यं। One verse in the Sāra-saṃgraha of Śambhudāsa, दिल्लीशो द्वार-देशे, etc.
3. Contd.?...2 verses: PV. 161 (the flight of the enemy [यस्य प्रौढतर-दहन-ज्वालाभि;, etc. may refer to वीरभानु] SS. 163 (description of the battle); the word भानु in the verse may have a bearing upon the name of the king.
4. Kings in general...3 verses: PT. 107 (the flight of the enemy); SS. 172 (the city of the enemy); PT. 95 = SS. 156 (description of the battle); SS. 131 and 132 (the assertion of a hero vanquishing others).

III. *Sentiments* (5 verses)

1. Karuṇa...PV. 793
2. Raudra...PV. 810
3. Śānta...PV. 812

   Śāntasys paścāttāpa...PV. 815
   Śāntasya... PV. 819

IV. *Women*

a. Vayaḥ-saṃdhi...3 verses: SA. 189; SA. 192; SSS. 799 and SSS. 798

b. Taruṇaṃ vayaḥ ..4 verses: SSS. 817, 825, 835; SA. 199, 836

2. Beauty of features...(12 verses)

a. Face...2 verses: PT. 136=SHV. 1637; SHV. 1647

b. Mark on the forehead...SA. 74

c. Eyes...SA. 80

d. Arm-pit...SA. 115

e. Romāvalī...2 verses: SA. 137 and SA. L39

f. The middle of the body...2 verses: SA. 134; SA. 135

g. Thighs...PV. 199

h. General description...2 verses: SHV. 1749; SA. 62; SA. 53 (suppleness of the body).

3. Types...(31 verses)

a. Paroḍhā...SA. 234

Sāmānya-vanitā...2 verses: SA. 273; PV. 321

Ativiśrabdha-navoḍhā...PV. 305

Prema-garvitā...2 verses: SA. 278 and SA. 279

Virahiṇī...SHV. 1944

,, -anutāpa...SHV. 1933

Virahiṇī avasthā-varṇana...SHV. 1952
,, pralāpa...SA. 697
Māninī (heading Bhartuḥ śuśrūṣā in the SA.; it is really a verse on Māninī)... SA. 222

Vāsaka-sajjitā...SA. 402
Karkaśā...PV. 387
Kalahāntaritā...SA. 756
Vipralabdhā...PV. 361
Utkā...SA. 288 = PV. 363
Madhyā Dhīrāḥ...SA. 206
Kriyā-vidagdhā...SA. 246
Vṛtta-surata-gopanā...SA. 236
Vartiṣyamāṇa-surata-gopanā...SA. 238
Vṛtta-vartiṣyamāṇa-surata-gopanā...SA. 240
Kulaṭā...SA. 258; SHV. 1851
Kulaṭopadeśa...SA. 260
Bhāvi-sthānābhāva-śaṃkayā...SA. 267
Bharturgamanānumānena...SA. 270
Anuśayānā...SA. 264
Abhisārikā: saṃcāra-kathana...SSS. 177
Jyotsnābhisārikā...SA. 303 = SSS. 178
Divābhisārikā...SSS. 181
Dūtī :

(a) Nāyakasyāgre Dūty-uktiḥ...SSS. 582
(b) Dūty-upahāsa...SSS. 606

V. *Men* (4 verses)

1. Sṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedaḥ tatra Anukulaḥ...SA. 317
2. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedaḥ tatra Dakṣiṇaḥ...SA. 318
3. Viyoginaḥ pralāpaḥ...SSS. 564
4. Kupuruṣaḥ...PV. 766

VI. *Love* (14 verses)

Vacana-vyaṅga-samāgama...SA. 326
Ceṣṭā-vyaṅga-samāgama...2 verses: SA. 327 and SA. 328
Gamana-vighnopāya ..SA. 690
Surata-varṇana...3 verses:, SA. 469=SSS. 713; SA. 470; SSS. 714; SSS. 727
Ratārambha...2 verses: SSS. 706 and SSS. 707
Ratāvasāna...2 verses: SSS. 751 and SSS. 752
Viparīta-surata...SA. 478=SSS. 737
Parakīyā-rata-praśaṃsā...SA. 464
Sama...SA. 672

VII. *Nature* (8 verses)

Morning...2 verses: SSS. 13 and SSS. 20
Midday...SA. 529
Evening...SA. 348; PV. 560; SSS. 148
Moon-rise...PV. 573
,, ,, ...2 verses: SSS. 192 and SSS. 193
Darkness...SSS. 152

VIII. *Seasons* (13 verses)

Summer... 3 verses: SSS. 327; PV. 615 and PV. 616

Rainy-season... SV. 574

Autumn... SSS. 404 = SA. 591

Hemanta... 2 verses: PV. 649 = SSS. 423 = SA. 599; PV. 650 = SSS. 424 = SA. 601

Winter... 3 verses: SA. 610; SSS. 451; PV. 656

Spring... 2 verses: PV. 602; SA. 617

IX. *Religion: Devotion* (1 verse)

Kīrtana... PT. 266

X. *Holy places, rivers, etc.* (4 verses)

Veṇī (Triveṇī)... PV. 877

Maṇikarṇikā... PT. 42

Lake... PV. 726

Tapovana (attributed to both Gaṇapati and Bhānukara)... PV. 665

XI. *Anyoktis* (3 verses)

Cuckoo... PV. 690

Parrot... PV. 691

Lion... PV. 707

Cloud... PV. 717

Moon... PV. 741

XII. *Miscellaneous* (6 verses)

Khadyota...SA. 558

Bhramarī-krīḍā...SA. 173 = SSS. 113

Vana-keli...2 verses: SSS. 82 and SSS. 83

Kavi-varṇana...PV. 789 (Here Bhānukara is expressly stated to be the son of Gaṇapati).

Vidyā...PV. 881 (Here his name is given as Bhānukara Miśra; PT., however, attributes the verse to Bhāskara).

Bhānukara as a poet

That Bhānukara or Bhānucandra Miśra was a poet of a high order can by no means be doubted; that he was very popular is manifest from the evidence furnished by the authors of the anthologies composed after the sixteenth century A.D- This extreme popularity enjoyed by him is due to his depth of thought and analytic power. He was a great rhetorician and naturally, his writing is very rich from the rhetorical point of view. He has dealt with various subjects as shown above; in almost every subject, there are beautiful verses which at once arrest our attention. Only a few are noticed below.

In his verse on the Buddha, he says that when the Buddha stood against the Vedas (Vedic rituals), the Oṃ-kāra fled off, leaving aside its dot (bindu). Then it had come into the possession of Śiva who used it as

a trident (really on the top of it) and the dot began to shine in the hand of Śrīkṛṣṇa as the disc Sudarśana.[1] Here the poet suggests that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) came into prominence as gods after the wane of Buddhism in India. His picture of the earth as it was when it emerged out of the ocean and hung on the teeth of the Boar, is also interesting.[2]

His verses on the Nizam[3] are of paramount interest establishing as they do a good relationship between the poet and his patron. This, among other evidences, shows that Mahomedan patronage for Sanskrit learning was not lacking in India in the sixteenth century A.D.

In a verse on the flag of the Nizam the poet assumes that it is nothing but the tongue of the

1. पायाद्बुद्धवपुः, etc.; Subhāṣita-hārāvali, MS., v. 74; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 864. The Padya-veṇī reading is:— माया-बद्ध-कुतूहले ।

[बुद्ध-वर्णनम्]
माया-बद्ध-कुतूहले भगवति व्यालोलयत्यगमा-
नोङ्कारेण भयातुरेण चलितं बिन्दुं विहाय क्वचित् ।
ओङ्कारः कर-पञ्जरं पुरभिदो भेजे त्रिशूलच्छला-
द्बिन्दुश्चक्र-मिषेण कैटभरिपोस्तस्थौ कराम्भोरुहे ॥

2. [वराह-वर्णनम्]
भूयादेष सतां हिताय भगवान् कोलावतारो हरिः
सिन्धोः क्लेशमपास्य यस्य दशन-प्रान्ते नटन्त्या भुवः ।
तारा हारति वारिदस्तिलकति स्वर्वाहिनी माल्यति
क्रोडा-दर्पणति क्षपापतिरहर्देवश्च ताटङ्कति ॥

Subhāṣita-hārāvali MS. v. 46; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 853.

3. See supplement.

earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same[1]. In another verse also on the king, Bhānukara's poetic fancy takes a lofty flight. The enemies of the king in heaven feel like fighting on hearing the violent blowing of the conch ; they swing about their hands on the arrows in the form of the eye-brows of the divine-damsels who present themselves for embracing them.[2] In the verse on the march of Vīrabhānu for conquest ; the poet says that the world had a crack in between on account of the sound of drums, neighing of horses and trumpeting of elephants when he started ; (then) the resultant crack was removed by means of borax in the form of the Mandākinī, the moon and stars heated on the fire of the king's prowess.[3] The pun employed by the poet in the verse on the plight of enemies[4] much enhances its beauty.

1. नृपति-निजाम-चमू-चरणार्पणा-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।
रचयति बहिरिव रसनामस्या-ध्वज-केतवादवनिः ॥
PT. 84=PV 131.

2. भल्लैर्भिन्नाः प्रतिनृपतयः शङ्खनादानुदाराञ्-
श्रुत्वा राजन् पुनरपि भुजा-दण्ड-कण्डूतिभाजः ।
आलिङ्गन्त्यास्त्रिदश-सुदृशो भ्रू-लतां वीक्ष्य भुग्नां
चाप-भ्रान्त्या चपल-मनसो हस्तमावर्तयन्ति ॥
PT, 95=SS. 156.

3. भेरी-भाङ्कृतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनदै, etc.

4. तादृग्दण्ड-विवर्त-नर्तित-मही-चक्रादपक्रामिताः
क्वापि क्वापि च कण्टकैरुपगता रेखोपरेखा-भ्रमम् ।
यस्य प्रौढतर-प्रताप-तपन-ज्वालाभिरन्ते दिशा-
मापाके निपतन्ति पार्थिव-घटा जीर्यन्ति शीर्यन्ति च ॥ PV. 161

The poet demonstrates the sentiment of tranquility well in one of his verses on the same. Nothing appears substantial, he says, when one looks back upon life from a very advanced stage; thus the roaming about of the past appears to be all waste of energy, acquisition of knowledge nothing but provision for wrangling about and love for women all worry due to final separation and nothing more; moreover, a man at that time whole-heartedly cares for a religious life and pines for the past part of life that appears to them almost void.[1] In another verse he longs for worshipping Dāmodara in a creeper bower at Benares, undisturbed by any woman.[2]

All the verses under secticns 4-5 could well have been placed under the heading 'Love'. But as the *Nāyakas* or *Nāyikās* are the main objectives of the poet in the verses in question, they have been grouped under the headings—'Women' and 'Men'. Woman is almost synonymous with Love and therefore, it is only natural that out of a collection of 130 verses of a poet, only four verses are devoted to Men in love.

1. क्षोणी-पर्यटनं श्रमाय विदुषां वादाय विद्याऽर्जिता
मान-ध्वंसन-हेतवे परिचितास्ते ते धराधीश्वराः ।
विश्लेषाय सरोज-सुन्दर-दृशामास्ये कृता दृष्टयः
कुज्ञानेन मया प्रयाग-नगरे नाऽऽराधि नारायणः ॥ PV. 815.

2. परीरम्भारम्भ-स्खलदलक-वक्त्राम्बुज-रुचां
तृणीकृत्य स्त्रीणामभिनव-सुधा-मुग्धमधरम् ।
कदा काश्यामस्यामुपवन-लता-कुञ्ज-कुहरे
नमस्यामो दामोदर तव पदाम्भोरुहरजः ॥ PV. 812.

A beautiful woman at the advent of youth is a marvel and the poet says, even the god of Love on rare occasions finds the Venus influencing his fate[1] and only a person with Bṛhaspati in the eleventh zodiac sign can expect to dally with her.[2]

The eye is a predominant feature of the beauty of a woman; it is more beautiful than a lotus because when God weighs them in a balance, He is required to place Māsas (Phaseolus Radiatus) on the scale of the lotus, the bees representing them as such.[3]

Again, a verse on the middle of a woman's body assigns a fine reason why the middle region is appropriately called a vacuum.[4]

1. प्रातः स्मेर-सरोरुहामयमुपाध्यायो दृशोर्विभ्रमः
पाणिः कोकिल-वाणि पल्लव-सहाध्यायी समुन्मीलति ।
सन्दर्भो वचसां पचेलिम-सुधा-सिद्धान्त-वैतण्डिको
जानीमः कुसुमायुधस्य भगवान् भाग्यालये भार्गवः ॥

SA. 198=SSS. 817.

2. वाणी कार्त्तिक-रोहिणीपति-चलत्-पीयूष-कल्लोलिनी
धत्ते दृष्टिरकाल-कुन्दकलिका-लावण्य-लीलायितम् ।
नो जाने गमयिष्यतस्तव चिरादङ्गे दिनं केलिभिः
कस्य श्रीफल-पीवर-स्तनि भवेदेकादशस्थो गुरुः ॥

SA. 199=SSS. 835.

3, नयनस्य तुलां चक्रे नलिनेन नतभ्रु वः ।
न्यूने च नलिने भृङ्ग-माषानेष विधिर्दधे ॥

SA. 80.

4. तुङ्गाभोगे स्तन-गिरियुगे प्रौढ-बिम्बे नितम्बे
सीमा-देशं हरति नृपतौ यौवने जृम्भमाणे ।
मध्यो भीरुः क्वचिदपि ययौ पद्मपत्रेक्षणायाः
शून्यं मध्यस्थलमिति ततः सर्वतः किंवदन्ती ॥

SA. 135.

Various types of heroines—Svakīyā, Parakīyā, etc. and their mood types such as Mānini, Kalahāntaritā, Utkā, Vipralabdhā, etc. have also been successfully depicted by the poet. A lady-love separated from the beloved as a consequence of a quarrel takes it for granted that a man is restless and a woman, on the other hand, steady and sincere and moreover, she argues, there is no reason why two youthful persons should not from time to time quarrel, but why should these wretched creatures—the bee, the Moon, and Madana—be tormenting her all along?[1] The pangs suffered by a separated woman eat into her vitals and she presents a really painful sight[2] but a lady-love longing for reunion at any cost whatsoever presents in herself a much more pitiable object; she indeed goes to any length to recover her lost love[3] and even a stone must melt at her solicitations.

1. चलं चेतः पुंसां सहज-सरलं पङ्कज-दृशो
भवत्येवं क्रोधः क्वचिदपि कदाचित्तरुणयोः ।
दहेदङ्गं भृङ्गो विधुरपि विदध्यात् परिभवं
स्मरो मां मथ्नीयादिति किमपि नाज्ञासिषमहम् ॥ SA. 756.

2. दुःखं दीर्घतरं वहन्त्यपि सखीवर्गाय नो भाषते
शैवालैः शयनं सृजत्यपि पुनः शेते नवा लज्जया ।
कण्ठे गद्गदवाचमञ्चति दृशोर्धत्ते न बाष्पोदकं
सन्तापं सहते यदम्बुज-मुखी तद्वेद चेतोभवः ॥ SHV. 1944.

3. स्नातं वारिद-वारिभिर्विरचितो वासो घने कानने
शीतैश्चन्दन-बिन्दुभिर्मनसिजो देवः समाराधितः ।
नीता जागरण-व्रतेन रजनी व्रीडा कृता दक्षिणा
तप्तं किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाद्यापि नेत्रातिथिः ॥
PV. 363=SA. 288.

The psychology and doings of a fallen type of woman, a lady on tryst in broad day-light or at night etc. etc. have been nicely analysed by the poet. Fallen women care for money alone and are the very antithesis of love[1] and do not believe even in the sympathy of God for them; they simply exclaim that He has done absolutely nothing for them.[2] They go to the length of inciting even their daughters—in any case, those who are very much like daughters to them—to evil acts.[3]

1. (a) केशः कुन्द-मिषादिवोपहसति द्रव्यैर्विहोनाञ्जनान्
यनां ग्रन्थि-धनं विलोकितुमिवोदुग्रीवस्तनस्तिष्ठति ।
प्रेमच्छेद-कृपाणा-वल्लि-सुषमां रोमालिरालम्बते
यस्याः सा कथमस्तु चेतसि चमत्काराय वामक्रमाः ॥

PV. 321.

(b) दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्गणा-सन्निधौ बहुधनं दातारमभ्यागतं
वक्षोजौ तनुतः परस्परमिवाश्लेषं कुरङ्गीदृशः ।
आनन्दाश्रु-पयांसि मुञ्चति मुहुर्मालामिषात् कुन्तलो
दृष्टिः किञ्च धनागमं कथयितुं कर्णान्तिकं गच्छति ॥

2. एते वारिकणान् किरन्ति पुरुषान् वर्षन्ति नाम्भोधराः
शैलाः शाद्वलमुद्गमन्ति न सृजन्त्येते पुनर्नायकान् ।
त्रैलोक्ये तरवः फलानि सुवते नैवाऽऽरभन्ते जनान्
धातः कातरमालपामि कुलटा-हेतोस्त्वया किं कृतम् ॥

SA. 258–SHV. 1851.

3. चेत् पौरादपि शङ्कसे हिमरुचेरप्यर्चिषो लज्जसे
भोगीन्द्रादपि चेद् बिभेषि तिमिरस्तोमादपि त्रस्यसि ।
चेत् कुञ्जादपि दूयसे जलधरध्वानादपि क्षुभ्यसि
प्रायः पुत्रि हतास्मि हन्त भविता त्वत्तः कलङ्कः कुले ॥

SA. 960.

The messenger-maidens engaged in love-intrigues are always very clever fellows. One of them reports to the lover that ever since he was away the unfortunate girl got rid of the garland of budding lotuses, pearl-necklace and waist-girdle but that was not all; her bracelets slipped down from her arms to the wrist as if to ascertain whether she had lost her pulse too.[1]

The poet has also drawn good pictures of men, as distinguished from women. Howsoever, a woman may decry that a man is insincere in love-matters, the poet shows that a man also may love to the extent of madness. Almost like a woman, he piteously bewails that he is in no way an enemy of the kunda flower, honey, bee, waves of nectar, cloud, lunar disc, and lotus, but they all have turned out hostile to him simply because she puts them all to shame by her teeth, melodious voice. sweet gaze, laughter, hair, face and breast respectively, while residing in his heart.[2]

1. माला बालाम्बुजदलमयी मौक्तिकी हार-यष्टिः
काञ्ची याते प्रभवति हरौ सुत्र वः प्रस्थितैव ।
अन्यद् ब्रूमः किमपि धमनी वर्तते वा न वेति
ज्ञातुं पाणौरहह वलयो बाहुमूलं प्रयाति ॥
SSS, 582.

2. कुन्दं दन्तैर्मधु निगदितैः षट्पदं दग्विलासै-
रेभिर्हास्यैरमृत-लहरी कुन्तलैरम्बुवाहम् ।
इन्दोर्विम्बं वदन-शशिना पङ्कजञ्च स्तनाभ्यां
त्वं जित्वा तान् वससि हृदये तेन ते मां द्विषन्ति ॥
SSS. 564,

A lady-love does not always explicitly speak out that the beloved one must not go; but she has her own ways to do things. She tells him that even after death a woman never recovers from the fever of separation she once contracts; before she departs from this world she must know whether the betel-nut, flowers, sandal, water, etc. which act like poison in this life would be so painful in the other world as well.[1]

Bhānukara's verses on nature are novel in conception and enchanting in expression. The night, the poet says, leaves its bower, the sky, having arranged its hair in the form of darkness that scattered all over in course of its dalliance and having worn its earring, viz. the lunar disc, as soon as the dawn appears.[2] Again, the morning would, no doubt, appear to many as very pleasant but it is most unpleasant to some at least. The poet draws a beautiful picture of a lady-love concealing in the morning the blue lily on her ear so that her

1. नायं मुञ्चति सुभ्रु वामपि तनुत्यागे वियोगज्वर-
स्तेनाहं विहिताञ्जलिर्यदुपते पृच्छामि सत्यं वद ।
ताम्बूलं कुसुमं पटीरमुदकं यद् बन्धुभिर्दीयते
स्यादत्रैव परत्र तत् किमु विष-ज्वालावली-दुःसहम् ॥

SA. 690

2. सन्निगृह्य चिकुरं तमोमयं यामिनी तदनु केलि-विच्युतम् ।
कुर्वती श्रवसि चन्द्रमण्डलं कुण्डलं गगन-कुञ्जमुज्झति ॥

SSS. 13.

beloved one may not be disappointed.[1] Herself knowing that the morning is there to torment them by separation she somehow conceals the faded lily in order to save him from a rude shock and violent despair.

In one verse Bhānukara depicts the evening as a chaste wife who enters the room for having a light as soon as she sees the moon[2].

The poet explains the moon-rise as follows. The night is a lady, the sky a bower, the moon extends his 'kara' out of love.[3] Again, he thinks that the moon-rise is due to the machination of Kāmadeva who intends to find out the stolen Sun. In order to detect the real thief, he performs a magical rite, viz. setting a dish (moon) to motion. For this purpose, Kāmadeva scatters all around uncooked rice in the form of stars;

1. संस्पृश्य स्तनमाकलय्य वदनं संश्लिष्य कण्ठ-स्थलं
निष्पीड्याधर-बिम्बमम्बरमपाकृष्य व्युदस्यालकम् ।
देवस्याम्बुजिनीपतेः समुदयं जिज्ञासमाने प्रिये
वामाक्षी वसनाञ्चलैः श्रवणयोर्नीलोत्पलं निह्नुते ॥
SSS- 20.

2. मृगाङ्कमागतं वीक्ष्य सन्ध्या कुलवधूरिव ।
दीपलेखामिषादेषा निर्विवेश निकेतनम् ॥
PV. 560=SA=SSS. 140.

3. नभोलता-कुञ्जमुपागतायाः प्रमोदपर्याकुल-तारकायाः ।
निशा-प्रियायाः स्फुरता करेण शशी तमःकञ्चुकमुन्मुमोच ॥
SSS. 193.

the cooing of the cuckoos is nothing but the chanting of mantras by him and the moon is the dish he uses.[1]

In one of his verses on the summer Bhānukara has employed a pun very effectively.[2] Of much effect has been the use of a happily chosen word viz. Kanyā-rāśi in a verse on the description of the Autumn.[3] In his description of the Hemanta the poet strikingly attributes the husband-wife relationship to the Day and the Night, during this season. The Day offers the major portion of the sky (or the cloth) to the beloved night and himself shrinks for her satisfaction.[4]

Bhānudatta was the author of the Gita-Gaurīśa with the ṭippana on the same work that is a prototype

1. ताराक्षतानिव किरन् कलकण्ठनादान्
मन्त्राक्षराणि निगदन् कुसुमेषुरेषः ।
लाभाय वासरमणेर्मुषितस्य सायं
सञ्चारयत्यमृतदीधिति-कांस्यपात्रम् ॥ PV. 573.

तारा = 1. a star : 2. pupil of the eye.
स्फरित = 1, bright : 2. restless. कर—1. rays ; 2. hand. This magical rite is performed even today in some parts of the country for detecting thieves.

2. SA, 529.
3. PV. 650 – SSS. 424. = SA. 601.
4. अम्बरमेव रमण्यै यामिन्यै वासरः प्रेयान् ।
अधिकं ददौ निजाङ्गादथ सङ्कुचितस्तस्थौ ॥
PV. 650 – SSS. 424 = SA. 601

अम्बर—1. the sky ; 2. the cloth. The idea is that in the Hemanta the day is very short and the night is long.

of the Gīta-Govinda of Jayadeva, and had certainly some leaning towards religion. The authors of the anthologies consulted have not, however, cared to quote his verses on religious topics such as Śravaṇa, Manana, Kīrtana etc., the PT. being the only work to preserve one verse on the utterance of the holy name of Nārāyaṇa. Through a figure of speech known as prativastūpamā, the poet states that just as the digging and the levelling of the earth, etc. are useless if no seed be sown, the perusal of the holy scriptures, the Purāṇas etc. are all in vain if the sacred name of Kamalākānta be not uttered.[1]

The anthologies preserve a few verses of Bhānukara on the holy places, etc. In a verse on Maṇikarṇikā, he suitably employs the *Virodha alaṃkāra* in showing how a bather in the same attains the state of Śiva[2] and in a

1. वेदस्याध्ययनं कृतं, etc. PT. 266.

2. स्नातं वारिषु निमलेषु जटिलो जातः पुनः कुन्तलः
काय-क्षालितमेव पङ्क-पटलं कण्ठे पुनः कालिमा ।
उद्दामाः खलु वीचयः परिचिताः क्रान्तः करो भस्मना
मातः श्रीमणिकर्णि कर्णपरुषं जल्पामि कोऽयं क्रमः ॥ PT. 42.

This is a good example of the figure of speech Virodha. Here the devotee means to say that he has really attained the state of Siva on account of his bath in the Manikarnikā though the wording is such that the second part of each pāda may be interpreted otherwise.

verse on the Triveṇī he assigns some reason in his poetic way why its water should be darkish.[1]

In his Anyokti on the Lion he illustrates how heredity works. No sooner is a cub born than it exhibits a tendency to jump upon the temple of an elephant even before sucking its mother's breast.[2] Thus, in his other Anyokti verses too he hints at some truth or other.

One outstanding feature of Bhānukara's composition is his great liking for the employment of figures of speech.[3] The lofty flight of his poetical fancy couched in the garb of idiomatic language reaches at times the maximum height of poetic excellence, particularly with the aid of rhetorical perfection.

1. ऊरीकर्तुं तुहिन-किरणप्रीतिधारामुदारां
   दूरीकर्तुं दिनकर-कर-क्लेश-बाधामगाधाम् ।
   यस्याः पुण्ये पयसि विशति स्नातुकामा त्रियामा
   प्रातस्तस्यास्तिमिरततिभिः श्यामलं नीरमस्याः ॥

   PV. 877

2. जातः स्तन्यं न जग्राह कण्ठीरवकिशोरकः ।
   चक्षुर्व्यापारयामास कुम्भे कुञ्जरशालिनि ॥

   PV. 707

3. प्रतिवस्तूपमा in PT. 266; श्लेष in a large number of verses; व्यङ्ग्य-व्यतिरेक and प्रत्यनीक in SSS. 564; आर्थी-परिसंख्यानुप्राणित-विषमालङ्कार in PV. 815; भ्रान्तिमान् in SA. 1; परम्परित-साङ्ग-रूपक in PV. 573; सूक्ष्म in SSS. 606; एकदेश-विवर्ति-श्लिष्ट-रूपक in SSS. 193; etc. etc.

AKBARĪYA-KĀLIDĀSA

His date

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa composed a work entitled Rāmacandra-yaśaḥ-praśasti in praise of Vaghela Rāmacandra of Rewa who was a contemporary of Akbar and ruled from 1555-1592. We published for the first time a critical edition of this valuable work[1] as vol. 3 of Pracyavani Gopal Chunder Law Memorial Text Series in 1946. In the introduction in English to this work, we discussed about the date of the work and came to the conclusion that the work must have been composed by 1580 A.D. Here we also dealt with the Family of the patron of the author viz. the Royal Family of Rewa and the importance of Rāmacandra-yaśaḥ-prabandha as a Sanskrit work, particularly, about its style which has a unique grace and beauty of its own. The authors of the Padyaracanā, Sūkti-Sundara and the Padyaveṇī have quoted verses from this work (see Appendix to this work).

From the colophon to this work—इत्यकब्वरी-कालिदास-कवि-श्रीगोविन्द-भट्ट-विरचितः श्रीमहाराधिराज-रामचन्द्र-यशःप्रबन्धः समाप्तः—it is clear that Akbarīya-Kālidāsa's real name was Govinda Bhaṭṭa. As a contemporary of Rāmacandra and Akbar, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa must have flourished about 400 years ago.

1. For MS. see p. 85 of Mm. Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sans. Mss. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, p. 85, Calcutta 1923.

His patrons

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa was one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of his age. Though he had had other patrons, the name of the poet itself shows that this Kālidāsa of the sixteenth century A.D. was a great favourite of Akbar. Nothing about his parentage is, however, known. He praises in his verses several kings who must have extended patronage to him in some form or other, and he avowedly acknowledges the patronage of Akbar by assuming a name after him. Thus, he refers to Gurjarendra, Jallāla, Vaghela, Dalapati, Vīrabhānu-putra or Rāmacandra of Rewa and Akbar. He praises the king of Gurjara as one whose fame has pervaded the whole world.[1] King Jallāla is referred to in a beautiful verse on the wife of his enemy.[2] The Vaghela King praised by Akbarīya-Kālidāsa was Rāmacandra of Rewa who was responsible for sending Tānasena to the court of Akbar.[3] His father Vīrabhānu was the patron of poet Bhānukara.[4]

1. विस्फार्य व्योम-गङ्गामल-गुरु-लहरी-कैतवात् केसराली-
   रुच्चैर्मांस्तक्य-देशे हिमकर-कपटान्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
   दिङ्नागारब्ध-झम्पस्तव विशद-यशः-केसरी गुर्जरेन्द्र
   ब्रह्माण्डारण्य-वीथी-गिरि-गहन-दरी-संक्रमी चङ्क्रमीति ॥PV.77.
2. जल्लाल क्षोणिपाल त्वदहित-भवने सञ्चरन्ती किराती
   कीर्णान्यालोक्य रत्नान्युरुतर-खदिराङ्गार-शङ्कां बिभति ।
   कृत्वा श्रीखण्ड-खण्डं तदुपरि मुकुलीभूत-नेत्रा धमंती
   श्वासामोदानुयातैरलि-कुल-निकरैर्धूमशङ्कां बिभर्ति ।
   SS. 174; PV. 168; 4th line missing in the latter MS.
3. For details about the kings of Rewa, see Dr. Hirānanda Sāstrin's Memoir on the Vaghela Dynasty of Rewa, 1926.
4. See under Bhānukara.

One of his verses is devoted to the praise of king Rāma for his charitable acts,[1] particularly the gift of elephants. The king of Kābila who is said to have invaded the country of Vaghela was repulsed by the latter in spite of the former's very strong army[2]. In another verse he describes the sword of the Vaghela king; to him it appears like a swarm of bees emerging out of the calyx of his hand-lotus.[3] In a verse in the form of a colloquy between Gaurī and Rambhā he alludes to the mighty prowess of the son of king Vīrabhānu i.e. king Rāmacandra of Rewah.[4] He praises the queen of Dalapati in one verse.[5] He describes Akbar as an

1. राम त्वद्दत्त-मत्तेभ-कुम्भ-निःसरदम्बुभिः ।
दिक्षु भिक्षु-गृह-द्वारि वासंनिधिस्वद्भवति ॥ PV. 96
2. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇi. 72=HV. 67=SS. 121 •
3. मृषैव निगदन्त्यमी जलद-कज्जल-ज्योतिषं
महासि-लतिकां करे तव वघेल-पञ्चानन।
प्रताप-तपन-स्फुरत्-कर-सरोज-कोशोत्थित-
द्विरेफ-लहरीति मे मनसि बुद्धिरुज्जृम्भते ॥
4. हे गौरि ब्रूहि रम्भे कनकमयनदीमेहि, लीलावगाह-
ब्रह्माण्डानन्द-मुग्धे कनकमयनदी कुत्र ? केयं प्रयाति ?
वीरश्री-वीरभानु-क्षितितिलक-कुलस्तम्भ-चञ्चत्-प्रताप-
ज्वाला-कल्लोल-ताप-द्रुत-कनक-गिरि-स्यन्द-धाराप्रवाहः ॥
PV. 65
5. चन्द्रं चन्द्रार्धचूडं चतुरुदधि-चयं चन्द्रिकां चन्द्रकान्तं
चार्वङ्गी-लोचनान्तं चमर-सहचरी-बाल-भारोच्चयं च ।
खर्वीकुर्वन्ति दर्वीकर-तिलकमपि ध्वस्त-गुर्वीति-भङ्गि
स्ववींथिं प्रेषिता रे दलपति-गृहिणि त्वद्यशःस्तोम-सोमाः ॥
PV. 76

outstanding ruler who possesses the might of a lion.[1] The emperor he says, is so powerful that he extirpates all his enemies instantaneously and terrifies even the king of Ceylon.[2] In another verse his sword is beautifully compared with various objects.[3] The Sūkti-sundara[4] preserves a verse in which the poet describes the march of the Nizam for conquest. But as both the Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī[5] and the Padya-veṇī[6] attribute the verse to Bhānukara, the attribution of Sundarācārya does not seem authentic.

There are a few other verses which he presumably composed for pleasing some king or other.[7]

1, शार्दूलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे मदकल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे
दोःस्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधरः केसरी मध्य-देशे ।
धम्मिल्ले ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भ्रू-युगे काल- दण्ड -
स्तत्सत्यं श्रीहुमाऊकुल-तिलकमणे भीषणाद्भीषणोऽसि ॥
PV. 53

2, वीर त्वं कार्मुकच्छेदकवर, etc. = PT. 97 = SS. 158

3. PT. 89 = PV. 138 = Rasika-jīvana, fol. 14a, 29 = Padya-racanā, 29.27. Probably, Jallāla praised by Akbarīya-Kālidāsa (p. 34) is the same as Akbar.

4. V. 168 (see Sahitya Parishat Patrika)

5. V. 191.

6. वाह-व्यूह-खुर-क्षतां वसुमतीं संवीक्ष्य मूर्च्छावतीं, et. = PT. 01 (भानुकर) = PV. 133 (भानुकर) = SS. 168 (अकबरी०)

7. (a) वदन्तु देव तावकं प्रतापमेव पावकं
महा-तुषार-शीतलं वदाम हे वयं यतः ।
सुमेरु-कन्दरान्तरे स्थितो गृहीत-कम्बल-
स्तवारि-भूप-नायकः प्रकम्पते मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ PV. 67

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa as a poet

Akbarīya-Kalidāsa was proud of his achievements as is manifest from one of his verses preserved in the Padya-veṇī.[1]

The verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa that are traced may be classified as follows: —

Subject		No. of verses
1. Personal ...	... 1	
2. Deities		
a. Bhavānī	... 6:	PV. 16, 36-38; SHV. 273-274
Bhavānīcchatra	... 1:	PV. 46
Devīcchatra	... 1:	PV. 47
b. Śambhu	... 3:	PV. 25, 14-15
c. Gaṇésa ...	... 2:	PT. 6 = PV. 11; SHV. 124
d. Kṛṣṇa ...	... 3:	PV. 33-35
3. Animal		
The horse ...	... 1:	PV. 126 = SS. 124
4. Love		
Virahiṇī ...	... 1:	PV. 611 = SSS. 309
5. Nature		
a. Summer-wind	... 2:	PV. 620 = SSS. 330; and SSS, 329
b. Malaya-breeze	... 1:	PV. 609
c. Moon-rise	... 1:	PV. 580; SSS. 205

(b) त्वयि प्रचलिते विभो तुरगटाप-टङ्क-त्रटद्-
घरावलय-धूलिभिः सकलमेव कोर्णं नभः ।
दिवाकर-हयावली-निरवलम्ब-सञ्चारज-
श्रमापनयनाय किं वसुमतीयमूर्ध्वं गता ॥ PV. 111

(c) तुङ्ग-ब्रह्माण्ड, etc. SS 63. see Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā

1. अनाराध्य कालीमनास्वाद्य गौडीमृते मन्त्र-तन्त्राद् विना शब्द-चौर्यात् ।
प्रबन्धं प्रगल्भं प्रकर्तुं प्रवक्तुं विरिञ्चि-प्रपञ्चे मदन्यः कविः कः ॥
V. 786

6. Description of kings	12 :	PV. 53; PV. 67; PV. 76; PV. 111; PV. 168=SS. 174; SS. 63=PR. 1P. 14; SS. 168=PT. 91=PV. 133; PV. 77=SS. 80; PT. 97=SS. 158; PT. 72=PV. 66=SS. 121; PT. 89 =PV. 138=PR. 21. 27; PV. 65
Sword of a Vaghela king	1 :	PV. 139
Gifts of king Rāma	1 :	PV. 96
7. Anyāpadeśa ...	1 :	PV. 732
8. Features : Hair ...	1 :	PV. 259
9. Kavi-varṇana ...	1 :	PV. 786

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa did not professedly belong to any particular religious sect such as Śākta or Vaiṣṇava. He pays homage to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhavānī and Gaṇeśa. Three of his verses are devoted to Viṣṇu (including one on Kṛṣṇa), three to Śiva, eight to Bhavānī and two to Gaṇeśa.

In a verse on goddess Durgā he prays to her for protecting him from all evils in that majestic form in which she is worshipped by Indra with the Mandāra flowers that attract a large number of bees. As they sit on the golden umbrella of the goddess, they constitute another umbrella as it were and the goddess appears like wearing two umbrellas.[1] In another verse

1. सेवा-सारम्भ-जम्भप्रतिभट रभसोन्मुक्त-मन्दार-माला-
चञ्चन्माध्वीक-धारा-बहलिम-लहरी-लम्पटालिच्छटाभिः ।
ऊर्ध्वं बद्धालयाभिर्विरचित-रचनाडम्बरं देवि दुर्गे
हेमच्छत्रोपरि त्वच्छिरसि मधुकरच्छत्रमव्यादभव्यात् ॥ PV. 47

he praises the umbrella of the goddess as a wonderful thing. No sooner is it seen than it enters the head.[1] Again, he pays homage to the goddess in her Jvālāmukhī form in two verses. Very fortunate are they, exclaims the poet, who worship the holy feet of Jvālāmukhī with bodies horripilated, eyes tearful, and heads rolling on the ground—muttering prayers in faltering accents.[2] Again, the poet worships her for dispelling all the gloom of his miseries by means of the shooting rays of her toes.[3]

He has depicted Śiva in a very pleasant as well as angry mood. In one verse he intends to deceive Pārvatī and replies accordingly to her questions regarding the identity of the person on his head. It is really the goddess Gaṅgā, traditionally, the co-wife

1. कनकच्छत्रमम्बायाः कुरुते कुतुकं महत् ।
विशदेव दृशोरन्तर्यन्निर्गच्छति मूर्धनि ॥ PV. 46.

The significance is that it is very pleasant to the eye; and secondly, it remains long in the memory of the visitor. Again, the verse is designed to contain the figure of speech Virodhābhāsa.

2. चञ्चद्रोमाञ्च-वीचो-निचय-कवचितैरङ्गकैः स्यन्दमान-
स्रोतोभिर्लोचनाब्जैर्भणितिभिरनिशं गद्गदोच्चारिताभिः ।
क्षोणी-पीठे लुठद्भिर्विलुलित-चिकुरैर्मौलिभिर्ये भजन्ति
श्रीमज्जालप्य-पुण्यच्चरण-सरसिजं भाग्यवन्तस्त एव ॥
PV. 38.

3. स्फूर्जच्चञ्चुश्चकोर-प्रमदनपटवो भक्त-सम्पत्-समुद्रा-
मुच्चैरुद्वेलयन्तश्चरण-तल-लसद्धीर-तारा-कुटुम्बाः ।
भूयाद्धं भूरि-ताप प्रशमन-बहुल-ध्वान्त-विच्छेद-दत्ता
अम्ब ज्वालामुखि त्वत्-पद-कमल-नख-प्रस्फुरच्चन्द्र-बिम्बाः ॥
PV. 37

of Pārvatī, but Śiva tries to explain away the questions of Pārvatī.[1] In the verse describing Śiva in his destructive mood, he is seen with one leg lifted up for the Tāṇḍava dance and Aparṇā clinging to his body in fear; the terrible sounds of his anklets are piercing the whole world as it were.[2] In the third verse he describes the neck of Śiva with its dazzling bluish colour resembling various dark objects such as the waves of the Yamunā, the bed of blue lotuses, etc. and earnestly prays for getting rid of all evils.[3]

Gaṇeśa has been praised in two of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa's verses collected by us. In one he is found in a very happy mood, and in the other, rather in a terrific

1. मौलौ किं नु महेश मानिनि जलं किं वक्त्रमम्भोरुहं
किं लीलालक-वेणिका मधुकरी किं भ्रूलता वीचिका ।
किं नेत्रे शफरौ किमु स्तनयुगं प्रेङ्खद्-रथाङ्ग-द्वयं
साशङ्कामिति शोचयन् गिरि-सुतां गङ्गाधरः पातु नः ॥
PV. 16

2. भृङ्गि-प्रस्तुत-गीति-मञ्जिम-मिलत्तज्झल्लरी-झांकृति-
स्फूर्जद्-डुंगुम-मञ्जु-नन्दि-मुरज-न्यस्तैक-हस्तोत्पलम् ।
अङ्ग-त्रस्यदपर्णमाद्य-नटन-क्षिप्तैक-पादाम्बुजं
प्रोद्यद्घुर्घुरिका-झणत्कृति-दलद्ब्रह्माण्डमीशं भजे ॥
PV. 14

3, कालिन्दी-वीचि-पुञ्जैः कुवलय-विपिनैरिन्द्रनीलच्छटाभिः
शैवालैः कज्जलौघैरलि-तिमिर-भरैर्बाल-जीमूत-जालैः ।
कस्तूरी-कोकिलानां ततिभिरिव महाचाकचिक्य-प्रपञ्चै-
स्त्रैलोक्यं पूरयन्ती शमयतु विपदः शाम्भवी कण्ठ-नाला ॥
PV. 25

form. In the former he is found pulling the foliage, placed on the ear of Durgā as adornment, with his trunk; consequently, Mahādeva goes on smiling, Kārtika enjoys the fun; the confidantes and the Gaṇas also are amused.[1] In the latter he is found dancing with such high jumps that Paulomī shrieks out in fear at his sight from the top of the premises and Indra consequently begins to worship him with a view to appeasing him; the poet prays to such Gaṇeśa for his grace.[2]

In two verses out of three devoted to Kṛṣṇa, the poet prays to Viṣṇu for his blessings and warding off all evils. In one, his dazzling blue colour is compared to the waves of the Yamunā, a new patch of cloud and a cluster of the leaves of the Tamāla.[3] In the other, Kṛṣṇa is detected by the poet-devotee in a very happy mood when he is enjoying the company of his consort

1. स्मेरे चन्द्रावतंसे हसति सकुतुकं षरामुखे सोपहासं
पश्यत्यालीकदम्बे गण-सदसि शिशु-क्रीडितं प्रेक्षमाणे ।
मा मेति व्याहरन्त्यास्तुहिन-गिरि-भुवः कम्पमानाग्र-पाणेः
कर्षन्ती कर्ण-केली-किशलयमवताद् बाल-हेरम्ब-शुण्डा ॥
SHV. 124

2, रुद्राणी-दत्त-पञ्चाङ्गुल, etc. = PT. 6

3. कालिन्दी-चारु-वीचो-निचय इति मुदा गाहिता नैचिकीभि-
र्बाला कादम्बिनीति प्रमुदितहृदयं वीक्षिता नीलकण्ठैः ।
उत्तंसार्थं तमाल-स्तवक इति हृता मुग्ध-गोपाङ्गनाभिः
श्रेयो नः कल्पयन्तां मधुमथन-तनु-स्वच्छ-कान्ति-प्रवाहाः ॥
PV. 33

Lakṣmī and the poet offers his prayers for protection.[1] In his verse on Kṛṣṇa the poet prays to him for unflinching devotion alone; nothing else matters to him.[2]

We have only four verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa on nature which has a permanent bearing on the sentiment of Love. These verses might as well be termed Love-verses. Unfortunately, we have only one more Love-verse of the author—a verse on a separated ladylove. Out of the four verses on nature, two are devoted to the description of summer-wind. In one the summer-winds are stated to be the elephants of king Madana who are rushing on after roaming about on the outskirts of the golden mountains in the form of the breasts of the Ladies of Karṇāṭa, jumping in the Pampä Lake, scattering the pollens of the Mallī flowers—and followed by swarms of bees throughout.[3]

1. धम्मिल्लश्रीः किमास्ये किमु वदन-रुचिः कण्ठ-सीमासु कण्ठ-
   च्छाया वक्षोज-युग्मे किमु कुच-कलशी-कान्तयो मध्यदेशे ।
   द्रागित्यादि-क्रमेणोल्लसित-जलनिधेरिन्दिरायाः स्वरूपैः
   पान्तु प्रेम-प्रणाली-विलुलित-गतयः कैटभारेः कटाक्षाः ॥

   PV. 34

2. घन-स्निग्ध-चञ्चत्-कच-ग्रन्थि-नद्ध-
   स्फुरत्-केकिपिच्छे लसच्चारु-गुच्छे ।
   मुखेन्दु-भ्रमद्बल्लवी-दृक्-चकोरे,
   यशोदा-किशोरे मनो मे रमेत ॥ PV. 35

3. कृत्वा कार्णाट-कान्ता-कुच-कनक-गिरि-प्रान्त-सञ्चार-लीलां
   झम्पामासाद्य पम्पा-पयसि वनभुवि क्षिप्त-मल्ली-रजस्काः ।
   आकर्षन्तः परस्तान्निगडमिव कल-ध्वान-पुष्पन्धयालीं
   धावन्त्येते मदान्धा मदन-नरपतेः सिन्धुरा गन्धवाहाः ॥

   PV. 620=SSS, 340

The pleasant summer-winds towards the end of the day joyously passing through the Campaka forest and accumulating honey drops and consequently, slowing down its gait, are sufficiently capable of relieving people of all fatigue.[1]

The verse on Malaya-breeze attributes the nature of a boy to it and all the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted with reference to the Malaya-wind as well as a boy. The poet really describes the advent of the spring and chooses this happy metaphor for the purpose.[2]

1. चलमान-चम्पक-वनान्तरोल्लसन्मकरन्द-विन्दु-भर-मन्द-चंक्रमाः ।
अहरन्त तापमहरन्त-सम्भवाः पवनाः पटीरवन-गन्ध-बन्धवः ॥
PV. 329

2. भृङ्गाली-कण्ठमालास्फुटित-कमलिनी-धूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गाः
स्पन्दन्तश्चन्द्रकन्या-लघुतर-लहरी-शीकरासार-लालाः ।
अङ्कादङ्कं व्रजन्तो विकसित-विलसत्-केतकी-मल्लिकानां
मोदन्ते मन्दमन्दं मलय-गिरि-दरीगर्भतो वात-पोताः ॥
PV. 609

Boys	Winds
a. कण्ठमाला :—wearing garlands of tigers' nails, etc.	a. Wearing garlands in the form of bees
b. धूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गा :—covered with dust	b. Full of the pollens of lotuses
c. शीकरासार-लाला :—emitting saliva	c. Scattering tiny particles of water, etc.
d. अङ्कादङ्कं व्रजन्त :—passing from one lap to the other	d. Passing through various sorts of flowers

In the verse devoted to moon-rise, the poet says that the evening is the time for the god of Love to proceed for the conquest of the world and accordingly, the ceremonial for the purpose is to be observed; a copper-plate, therefore, floats on the sea in the form of the setting sun and East, too, bears on her head a pitcher in the form of the moon.[1]

The pursuit of a horse is beautifully described by the poet. It stretches forth its head as it intends to measure the earth and its feet are raised up as it considers the sky as nothing but a stage to dance on.[2]

The poet has left us to the legacy of only one Anyāpadeśa or Anyokti. It is on the lotus. There is no

1. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-मङ्गलं द्योतयन्ती
विशति जलधि-मध्ये ताम्रपात्रीव भानुः।
इयमपि पुरुहूत-प्रेयसी मूर्ध्निसंस्थं
कलशमिव सुधांशुं साधुमुल्लालसीति ॥

PV. 580

v, r. in SSS. 205a. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-काल-विज्ञापनाय।

Floating copper-plates and holding pitchers on the head are parts of the auspicious rites observed as Yātrā-maṅgala.

2. इयती जगती कियती भविता
नमिताननतामिति याति हयः।
वियदङ्गन-रिङ्गण-रङ्ग-विधौ
परिनर्तितुमुत्क्रमतीव नभः ॥

PV. 126=SS. 124.

flower that can outdo the lotus by rivetting the attention of the bees even for a while.[1]

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is indeed a great Sanskrit poet. His verses are inspiring and really enjoyable. Almost every verse has some figure of speech or other in it, such as the metaphor including the Mālārūpaka, Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti, śleṣa, and so on. Nowhere in his composition, is there any looseness. The style of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa reminds one of the excellent styles of his illustrious predecessor whose name he shares—though at a much later period. One is apt to think that his name Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is really a pen-name so designed as to please both Akbar as well as to suit his own capacity as a supposed rival of the best poet of Hindu India.

1. हे मल्लि हे मालति हे लवङ्गि
न तादृशी कापि भवादृशीनाम् ।
तयां समाधाय मधु-व्रतं या
विस्मारयत्यम्बुजिनी-वियोगम् ॥
PV. 732.

The Rasika-Jīvana records हस्ताम्भोरुह-पत्तने, etc. as a verse of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. But see KVS- p. 34, हेमाम्भोरुह-पत्तने, etc. ascribed to Kālidāsa in two MSS. of the ŚP.

JAGANNĀTHA PAṆḌITARĀJA

Court-poet of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and great admirer of Dara Shikoh (d. 1659).

Personal history

Jagannātha was the son of Perubhaṭṭa[1] or Peramabhaṭṭa[2] and Lakṣmī of the village Mungundu in the Godāvarī district. He was a Tailaṅga brahmin[3] of the Veginada community.[4]

He was very fortunate in his training as a student, his father himself being the teacher. His father in his turn was the disciple of Jñānendra Bhikṣu in Vedānta, of Mahendra in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, of Khaṇḍadeva

1. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara. 1. 3:—

पाषाणादपि पीयूषं स्यन्दते यस्य लीलया।
तं वन्दे पेरुभट्टाख्यं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महागुरुम्॥

In commenting upon Lakṣmī Nāgeśa says, "लक्ष्मीति तत्-पत्नीनाम।"

2. Concluding verse (52) of the Prāṇābharaṇa (No. 53) is an interpolation:—

तैलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-लालितः
श्रीमत्-पेरमभट्ट-सूनुरनिशं विद्वल्ललाटन्तपः।
सन्तुष्टः कमताधिपस्य कवितामाकर्ण्य तद्वर्णनं
श्रीमत्-पण्डितराज-पण्डित-जगन्नाथो व्यधासीदिदम्॥

3. Op. cit.
4. See colophon to the Bhāminī-vilāsa.

in Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Śeṣavīreśvara in the Mahābhāṣya.[1] Śeṣavīreśvara taught Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja as well.

It is said that Jagannātha started a school at Jaipur. He as well as other Paṇḍitas of Jaipur were once challenged by a Kāzi to an open debate in matters concerning Islam. It was only Jagannātha who took up the challenge, studied the religious literature of the Moslems as much and as quickly as he could within the fixed date and defeated the Kāzī. This creditable performance had such a telling effect upon the ruler of Delhi that he at once invited Jagannātha to his court. Jagannātha accepted the same and a fresh chapter in his life's history began.

There is a tradition that he fell violently in love with a Muslim girl called Lavaṅgī whom he married. Probably, he was unmarried when he came to the court of the ruler of Delhi.[2] That he was much enamoured

1. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, 1. 2 :—

श्रीमज्ज्ञानेन्द्रभिक्षोरधिगत-सकल-ब्रह्मविद्या-प्रपञ्चः
काणादीरक्षपादीरपि गहनगिरो यो महेन्द्रादवेदीत् ।
देवादेवाध्यगीष्ट स्मरहर-नगरे शासनं जैमिनीयं
शेषाङ्क-प्राप्त-शेषामल-भणितिरभूत् सर्व-विद्याधरो यः ॥

2. Cp. शीतार्ता इव सङ्कुचन्ति दिवसा नैवाम्बरं शर्वरी
शीघ्रं मुञ्चति किं च॰॰हुतभुक्-कोणं गतो भास्करः ।
त्वं चानङ्ग-हुताश-भाजि हृदये सीमन्तिनीनां गतो
नास्माकं वसनं न वा युवतयः कुत्र व्रजामो वयम् ॥

of this Muslim girl is evidenced by several verses attributed to him.[1]

Probably Jagannātha had a son by Lavaṅgī whose loss he mourns in one of the verses of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.[2] Jagannātha, probably, first came to Delhi during the rule of Jehangir to whom he refers in a verse of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.[3]

Jagannātha himself states in the introductory part of his Āsaf-vilāsa that he got his title Paṇḍitarāja from emperor Shah Jehan. His work on Āsaf-khān, counsellor of Shah Jehan and brother of Nūrjāhān, manifestly shows his reverence for him and also for Rāya

1. यवनी रमणी विपदः शमनी कमनीयतमा नवनीत-समा ।
उहिऊहि-वचोऽमृत-पूर्णमुखी स सुखी जगतीह यदङ्कगता ॥
यवनी नवनीत-कोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि नीयते कथञ्चित्
अवनी-तलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माघवनी विनोद-हेतुः ॥
न याचे गजालिं न वा वाजिराजिं न वित्तेषु चित्तं मदीयं कदाचित् ।
इयं सुस्तनी मस्तक-न्यस्त-हस्ता लवङ्गी कुरङ्गीदृगङ्गीकरोतु ॥

2. अपहाय सकल बान्धव-चिन्तामुद्वास्य गुरु-कुल-प्रणयम् ।
हा तनय विनयशालिन् कथमिव पर-लोक-पथिकोऽभूः ॥
P. 42, 5th Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press ed.

3. श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं तव किमिति मषी-संगमात् कुत्र जातः
सोऽयं शीतांशु-कन्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जलं कज्जलाक्तम् ।
व्याकुप्यन्नूरदीन-क्षिति-रमण-रिपु-क्षोणिभृत्-पद्मलाक्षी-
लक्षाक्षीणाश्रु-धारा-समुदित-सरितां सर्वतः संगमेन ॥ (P. 703).

The full name of Jehangir was Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir.

Mukunda of Kashmir at whose instance he composed the same. The verse attributed to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja declaring that only two Iśvaras or Lords, either the Lord of Delhi or of the Universe, are to be approched for help, the rest being simply worthless from the point of view of real patronage[1], would probably, refer to Shah Jahan during whose reign he passed the longest period of his life at the court of Delhi.

In some MSS. of his work Jagad-ābharaṇa there is a reference to his enjoyment of the patronage of Dara Shikoh (see below: under the works of Jagannātha—Jagadābharaṇa). Moreover, Dara Shikoh was murdered in 1659, only one year after the imprisonment of his father Shah Jahan.

The tradition is that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja left the court of Delhi in sheer disgust after the murder of Dara Shikoh and came to Benaras where he was severely reprimanded by Appayya Dīkṣita apparently for marrying a Muslim girl. This was, most probably, only retaliating for Jagnnātha's severe criticism of his work Citramīmāṃsā in the Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana. Jagannātha, however, took the insult so terribly to heart that he is said to have committed suicide along with

1. दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।
अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्याल्लवणाय वा स्यात् ॥

his beloved Lavaṅgī in the holy water of the Ganges. There is a tradition that the Gaṅgā-Laharī of Jagannātha was composed for this purpose; as he stepped down and down, he recited one after another the 53 verses of this stotra after which he and Lavaṅgī were drowned.

But this incident must have taken place not immediately after his leaving the court of Delhi. He says in the Śānta-vilāsa, part IV of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, v. 32, that after leaving Delhi, he resided at Muttra.[1]

The third canto of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, viz. the Karuṇa, apparently appears to have been composed after the demise of Jagannātha's partner in life. But really if the Karuṇa-vilāsa as a part of the Bhāminī-vilāsa were composed with the express intention of having ready illustrations for the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara as Nāgeśa says,[2] no personal loss need be taken into consideration with re-

1. शास्त्राण्याकलितानि नित्य-विधयः सर्वेऽपि संभाविता
दिल्लीवल्लभ-पाणि-पल्लव-तले नीतं नवीनं वयः ।
सम्प्रत्युज्झित-वासनं मधुपुरी-मध्ये हरिः सेव्यते
सर्वं पण्डितराज-राजि-तिलकेनाकारि लोकाधिकम् ॥

2. Jagannātha says in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara. v. 6 :—
निर्माय नूतनमुदाहरणानुरूपं
काव्यं मयाऽत्र निहितं न परस्य किंचित् ।
किं सेव्यते सुमनसां मनसाऽपि गन्धः
कस्तूरिका-जनन-शक्ति-भृता मृगेण ॥

Nāgeśa says, "काव्यं भामिनीविलासाख्यम्" ।

gard to the composition of the verses. Moreover, as there is no evidence whatsoever that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja married a second time, the above supposition distinctly goes against the tradition that he and Lavaṅgī died together in the holy waters of the Ganges.

Date.

The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara contains a verse[1] which refers to Nurdin. Nurdin is really the forename of Nurdin Mahammad Jahangir, father of Shah Jahan. Most probably our poet came to the court of Delhi when Jahangir was the ruler. Internal evidence shows that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja enjoyed the full confidence and liberal patronage of Shah Jahan.[2] If 'Jagat' of the work

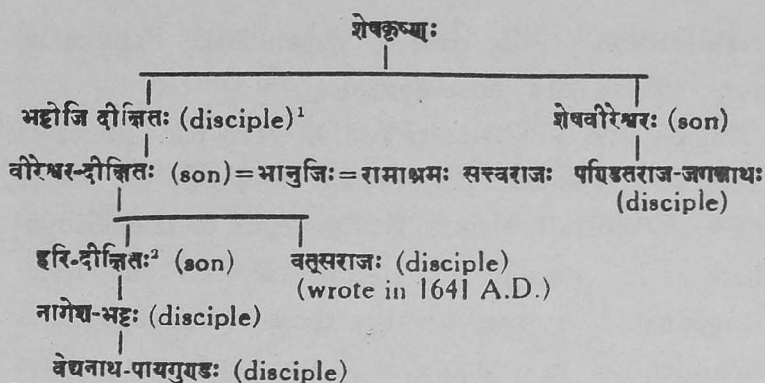
1, श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं. etc., p. 703. NSP. 5th ed.

2. अथ सकल-लोक-विस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परम्पराधीन-मानसेन, प्रतिदिनमुद्यदनवद्य- गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक-विद्याविद्योतितान्तःकरण- कविभिरुपास्यमानेन, कृत-युगीकृत-कलि-कालेन,कुमति-तृण-जाल-समाच्छादित-वेद-वन-मार्ग-विलोकनाय समुद्दीपित-सुतर्क-दहन-ज्वाला-जालेन, मूर्तिमतेव नव्वावासफ-खान-मनःप्रसादेन, द्विज-कुल-सेवा-हेवाकि-वाङ्मनः-कायेन, माथुर-कुल-समुद्रेन्दुना रायमुकुन्देनादिष्टेन, सार्वभौम-श्रीशाहजहां-प्रसादाधिगत-पण्डितराज-पदवी-विराजितेन, तैलङ्ग-कुलावतंसेन, पण्डित-जगन्नाथेनासफ-विलासाख्येयमाख्यायिका निरमीयत।

Introductory part of the Āsaf-vilāsa.

Again, the word 'दिल्ली-वल्लभ' in v. 32 of the Śānta-vilāsa, Part IV of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, most probably, refers to Shah Jahan.

Jagadābharṇa may be taken to refer to Dara Shikoh as some MSS. show, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja may be supposed to have continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal Raj till the murder of the eldest son of Shah Jahan. Therefore, our poet appears to have enjoyed the patronage of two Mughal emperors and one Mughal prince. It is only likely that Jagannātha was born in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature till the murder of the unfortunate Mughal prince Dara Shikoh (1659 A.D) as a court-poet of Delhi. Subsequently to his leaving the Royal court he resided at Muttra and compiled the Bhāminī-vilāsa and necessarily the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, if the word 'kāvya' in v. 6 of this work really refers to the Bhāminī-vilāsa as Nāgeśa says it does.

Other evidences also help the determination of the date of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. Our poet is connected with the celebrated School of Grammarians headed by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. His exact relationship is best seen in the following table :—

Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa flourished towards the end of the 17th century and therefore the date assigned by us to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja who flourished two generations earlier must be about 50 years earlier still.

In the Kula-prabandha composed in the seventeenth century, which is now included in the Vaṃśa-vīthi of the Sāhitya-vaibhava of Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha Śāstrin (Bhaṭṭa Garden, Residency Road, Jaipur, Rajputana), it is stated that one Nārāyaṇa who was a student of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja succumbed to death at an early life in the seventeenth century.[3] This also helps the exact

1. Bhaṭṭoji's disciple Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed a work in 1635 A.D.

2. There is a tradition that Hari-Dīkṣita challenged Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in debate in which our poet first defeated his opponent but later on was himself defeated.

3. लब्ध्वा विद्या निखिलाः पण्डितराजाज्जगन्नाथात् ।
नारायणस्तु दैवादल्पायुः स्वःपुरीमगमत् ॥

determination of the date of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja irrespective of the above evidences.

Again, the Subhāṣita-hārāvalī of Hari Kavi preserves a verse of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in which he praises one Gaṅgādhara.[1] Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa refers to one Gaṅgādhara as his guru in his commentary on the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.[2] It may be that these two Gaṅgādharas were identical in which case Gaṅgādhara must have taught Nāgeśa in his old age.

It may further be added that the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa on Rasa-Gaṅgādhara was composed by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Jagannātha himself severely criticised Apprayya Dīkṣita as a slavish immitator of earlier rhetoricians. Appayya was probably alive up till the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century and was, in any case, a senior contemporary of Jagannātha. Haribhāskara, whose Vṛtta-ratnākara-ṭīkā[3] was composed in 1676 A.D. includes in his Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī two verses of Jagannātha. The Padyāmṛta-

1. वितण्डा-हेत्वाद्यैरतिवितत-वाक्यैरपि नृभि-
र्न जेयोऽसौ विद्वज्जन-सदसि गंगाधर-बुधः ।

The Lakṣmī-laharī of Jagannātha seems to refer to the same poet by means of pun on गङ्गाधर in v. 3—"सुरास्तं गायन्ति स्फुरित-तनु गंगाधर-मुखाः ।"

2. नत्वा गङ्गाधरं मर्म-प्रकाशं तनुते गुरुम् ; the opening line of the commentary.

3. Bhandarkar, Reports, 1877-91, p. lxii and 1883-84, p. 60.

taraṅgiṇī is dated at 1674 A.D.[1] and was composed only fifteen years after the murder of Dara Shikoh.

From the above evidences we may come to the conclusion that the period of Jagannātha's literary activities continued from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to about 1660 A.D.

Works of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

A survey of the writings of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja at once shows that he wrote on various subjects—(1) Stotras such as those of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā; (2) Panegyrics of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa, Jagatsiṃha or Dara Shikoh and Āsaf; (3) Nature, e.g. the sun-rise (see Sudhā-laharī below); (4) Sanskrit Grammar such as Prauḍha-manoramā-kuca-mardinī; (5) Sanskrit rhetorical literature, e.g. the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, a commentary on the Kāvya-prakāśa and Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana. Again, the Bhāminī-vilāsa which was composed for the purpose of having ready illustrations for the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara is a monumental work. It contains, among many lyrical stanzas, a large number of Anyoktis which have been amply quoted by the Koṣakāras in their anthologies.

Some accounts of the extant works of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja are given below.

1. See p. 72 of my edition of the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī.

1. *Amṛta-laharī.*

The hymn of the Yamunā[1] in only eleven verses is meant for daily recitation during the bath.[2] Here the poet earnestly desires to pass his days on the banks of the Yamunā as a mendicant (v. 3) and prays to Kṛṣṇa for salvation.

2. *Āsaf-vilāsa.*

This work is devoted to the praise of Nawab Āsaf Khān, brother of Nur Jahan and minister of Shah Jahan. It is being published for the first time as an Appendix to this work.[3] As Āsaf Khan died in 1641 A.D. as is recorded in the chronogram *Zibe afsos Āsaf Khan*, this work must have been composed before that date; and after the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne in 1628 A.D., as he is described as "Sārvabhauma" in the work itself.

The work deals with Shah Jahan's visit to Kashmir and Āsaf Khan's whole-hearted endeavour to promote royal happiness. No historical account about Shah Jahan or Āsaf Khan is found in it.

1. Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Parab. *Kāvya-mālā*, Part I, pp. 99-101. Bombay 1886.
Verse no. II : अयं पण्डितराजेन श्रीजगन्नाथ-शर्मणा ।
स्तवः कलिन्दनन्दिन्या निर्मलो निरमीयत ॥

2. एवं स्नान-विधौ पठन्ति खलु ये नित्यं गृहीत-व्रता-
स्तानामन्त्रित-संख्य-जन्म-जनितं पापं त्वयादुज्झति ॥ V. 10.

3. The MS. used for our edition belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; *see* P.K. Gode's Catalogue of Sansk. MSS., Kāvya volume.

3. *Bhāminī-vilāsa, also called Paṇḍitarāja-śataka.*[1]

The work consists of four vilāsas, viz. Prastāvika-vilāsa, Śṛṅgāra-vilāsa, Karuṇa-vilāsa and Śānta-vilāsa. W'.ereas in some editions the total number of verses found are 129, 183, 19 and 45 in the four vilāsas respectively, in others, again, there are 101, 102, 19 and 32 or 33 verses. This great discrepancy in the number of verses in a comparatively recent book is, no doubt, puzzling. It shows, however, that the work enjoys great popularity. In all, 121 verses are left out in several editions. Out of these about 100 are found in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara; and therefore, there is no doubt that these 100 verses were composed by Jagannātha himself though it may be doubted whether the author himself selected them for inclusion in his Bhāminī-vilāsa. The remaining 21 verses also bear the distinctive stamp of Jagannātha's poetic excellence and are, most probably, his own.

Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara says that the Bhāminī-vilāsa was composed

1. Greek ed. in 1845. Many Indian editions without commentaries since 1870. Ed. with commentary °bhūṣaṇa of Mahādeva in the Grantha-ratna-mālā. 1890; with the commentary of Maṇirāma by Victor Henry, Paris, 1885; with the °vyākhyā by Yadunātha Tārkācārya. Calcutta, Saṃskṛta Press, 1862 and with Kāvya-marma-prakāśa by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmacandra Vaidya, Bombay, Bhāratī Press, 1887.

earlier than the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara with the object of having ready illustrations for his Magnum opus.[1]

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja says that he compiled the Bhāminī-vilāsa as a selection of his verses in order that nobody else could claim them as his own.[2] But a comparative study of his Bhāminī-vilāsa with the Bhāva-śataka[3] of Rudra Nyāyapañcānana or the Anyokti muktālatā[4] of Śambhu Mahākavi reveals that Jagannātha was indebted to both of them for his thought and imagery of a good many verses. Śambhu Mahākavi was the court-poet of king Harṣa of Kashmir (1088-1100 A.D.) and flourished towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. And Rudra Nyāyapañcānana, son of Kāśīnātha Vidyānivāsa of Bengal and brother of Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya, flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued his literary

1. See Nāgaśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the sixth Introductory verse of the Rasā-Gaṅgādhara.

2. At the end of the last part of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, the poet says:—

दुर्वृत्ता जार-जन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति शङ्कया ।
मदीय-पद्य-रत्नानां मञ्जूषैषा कृता मया ॥

3. Cp. Bhāminī- vilāsa, 1. 1 with Bhāva-vilāsa, 140; Bhāminī-vilāsa 9 with Bhāva-vilāsa 41 and 47 of the former with 26 of the latter, etc.

4. Cp. Bhāminī-vilāsa, 1.2 with Anyokti-muktā-latā, 14; Bhāminī-vilās, 1, 19 with AM. 72; BV. 20 with AM. 26; BV. 47 with AM. 12 and so on.

activities during the first half of the seventeenth century.[1] His Bhāva-śataka was composed at the instance of Bhāvasiṃha, son of Mānasiṃha.[2]

The Prastāvika-vilāsa is really a collection of Anyoktis. This vilāsa is also found printed under the title Anyokty-ullāsa with a Malayalam metrical version by M. N. Rāmakṛṣṇa Śāstrin.[3]

The *Anyoktis* here are all grand in conception as well as expression. The Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī which was composed a few years after the death of our poet Jagannātha quotes a few of these Anyoktis, viz. verses 1, 5, 7 and 14 of the Prastāvika-vilāsas.[4] The first one dwells upon the majesty of the great who justly terrify the rivals, take pity for those who are meek and humble and do not cause any harm to the lowliest. In verse no. 5 the poet establishes that a respectable person must not be dishonoured. In the next verse the poet resorts to the figure of speech Śleṣa for bringing out the fact that a poor man must not feel discontented or be despaired; love and appreciation of others' merits are sure

1. See Introduction to my edition of the Bhramara-dūta.

2. Ed. in the Kāvya-mālā.

3. Reprinted from the Kavana-kaumudī, [Kottakal], 1916.

4. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, verses 200, 213, 252 and 194 respectively.

to be his sustaining forces. In verse no. 34, the proverb "Carrying coal to Newcastle" has been happily substantiated with an illustration.

4. *Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana.*[1]

Our poet expressly statets that the defects of the Citra-mimāṃsā of Appayya Dīkṣita thoroughly dealt with in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara are collected in an abbreviated form in this work.[2] Appayya Dīkṣita, another outstandingly great Sanskrit scholar of the South, was a sworn enemy of our poet and responsible for his unnatural death. Unfortunately the Citra-mīmāṃsā as well as the Rasa-Gaṅgādhada are both incomplete, no definite reasons for which can be assigned at the present state of our knowledge.

1. Both the Citra-mīmāṃsā and the Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana have been edited in the Kāvya-mālā, No. 38,. Bombay, Nirṇaya-sāgar Press.

2. सूक्ष्मं विभाव्य मयका समुदीरिताना-
मप्पय्य-दीक्षित-कृताविह दूषणानाम् ।
निर्मत्सरो यदि समुद्धरणं विदध्या-
दस्याहमुज्ज्वलमतेश्चरणौ वहामि ॥
रस-गङ्गाधरे चित्र-मीमांसाया मयोदिताः ।
ये दोषास्तेऽत्र संक्षिप्य कथ्यन्ते विदुषां मुदे ॥

The MS. from which the Citra-mīmāṃsā-khandana was edited in the Kāvya-mālā is dated 1652 A. D. and was, probably, written during the life-time of the author himself.

5. *Gaṅgā-laharī,*[1] *also called Pīyūṣa-laharī*[2] *and Gaṅgāmṛta-laharī.*

Several editors call Sadāśiva's commentary on the Gaṅgā-laharī, as Pīyūṣa-laharī. The India Office Library possesses 45 editions of this work, but none is a critical one. This important work badly needs a critical edition. The Gaṅgā-laharī of Jagannātha is a very sincere outburst of the feelings of a real devotee in 52 stanzas. The poet here remarks with child-like simplicity that he cares little for any other gods and goddesses as he feels sure of the affection of the Ganges for him; if she now becomes careless about him, who else would come to his rescue, who else would care to console him?"[3] Her holy water must put an end to his cycle of births.[4]

1. Printed in the Bṛhat-stotra-muktā-hāra, part II, srotra no. 395, pp. 401-409; Bombay, Gujrati Printing Press, 1916.

2. इमां पीयूषलहरीं जगन्नाथेन निर्मिताम् ।
यः पठेत्तस्य सर्वत्र जायन्ते जय-सम्पदः ॥ last verse.

3. तवाऽऽलम्बादम्ब स्फुरदलघु-गर्वेण सहसा
मया सर्वेऽवज्ञा-सरणिमथ नीताः सुरगणाः ॥
इदानीमौदास्यं यदि भजसि भागीरथि तदा
निराधारो हा रोदिमि कथय केषामिह पुरः ॥६॥

4. मरुल्लीला-लोलल्लहरि-लुलिताम्भोज-पटल-
स्खलत्पांशु-व्रातच्छुरणविसरत्कौङ्कुम-रुचि ।
सुरस्त्री-वक्षोज-क्षरदगरु-जम्बाल-जटिलं
जलं ते जङ्घालं मम जनन-जालं जरयतु ॥२१॥

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva may safely cease to function if only the Ganges is alert about the welfare of the world.[1] The lovely big eyes or the ears are simply useless if they do not see her or hear the sweet sound of her sportive waves.[2] Many people resort to many austerities, but the poet knows only one way out for avoiding all troubles.[3]

6. *Jagad-ābharaṇa.*

From the introduction of Durgāprasāda to the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, it is known that he came across a MS. of the Jagadābharaṇa which had the readings Dārā or some epithets such as दिल्लीधरावल्लभ referring to him instead of प्राणनारायण, So it is certain that a MS. of the poet's प्राणाभरण, in that form was found devoted to the praise

1. विधत्तां निःशङ्कं निरवधि समाधिं विधिरहो
   सुखं शेषे शेतां हरिरविरतं नृत्यतु हरः ।
   कृतं प्रायश्चित्तैरलमथ तपोदान-यजनैः
   सवित्री कामानां यदि जगति जागर्ति भवती ॥२४॥
2. विशालाभ्यामाभ्यां किमिह नयनाभ्यां खलु फलं
   न याभ्यामालीढा परम-रमणीया तव तनुः ।
   अयं हि न्यक्कारो जननि मनुजस्य श्रवणयो-
   र्ययोर्नान्तर्यातस्तव लहरिलीला-कलकलः ॥३२॥
3. यजन्त्येके देवान् कठिनतर-सेवांस्तदपरे
   वितान-व्यासक्ता यम-नियम-रक्ताः कतिपये ।
   अहं तु त्वन्नाम-स्मरण-भृतकामस्त्रिपथगे
   जगज्जालं जाने जननि तृण-जालेन सदृशम् ॥४४॥

of Dārā Shikoh. The late lamented S. M. Paranjape, however, says in his edition of the Bhāminī-vilāsa that he came across a MS. of the Jagadābharaṇa which had the concluding verse and the colophon as follows:—

तैलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-लालितः
श्रीमत्पेरम-भट्ट-सूनुरनिशं विद्वल्ललाटन्तपः ।
श्रीराणाकलिकर्णनन्दन-जगत्सिंह-प्रभोर्वर्णनं
श्रीमत्-पण्डितराय-सत्कवि-जगन्नाथो व्यतानीदिदम् ॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय-पद-वाक्य-प्रमाण-पारावारीण-तैलङ्ग-कुलावतंस-श्रीपेरम-भट्टसूरेस्तनयेन विनिर्मितं जगदाभरणाख्यं जगत्सिंह-वर्णनम् ॥

Jagatsiṃha, son of Karṇasiṃha, was the Rāṇā of Udaipur and reigned from 1628-1654 A.D. Chronologically, there is no difficulty in the poet's composing the work in praise of Dārā Shikoh or Jagatsiṃha; and as it was he, who praised दिल्लीश्वर as जगदीश्वर,[1] one cannot be sure to whose praise the work was really devoted by the poet himself.

7. *Karuṇā-laharī, also called Viṣṇu-laharī.*

In some MSS. the name Karuṇā-laharī is replaced by Viṣṇu-laharī.[2] It is a hymn of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in 60

1. दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।
अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्याल्लवणाय वा स्यात् ॥

2. Ed. in Kāvya-mālā, part II by Pandit Durgāprasāda and Kāśīnāth Pāndurańga Parab. pp. 55-61. see fn. 2, p. 55, Kāvya-mālā 2.

verses and is outstandingly lyrical throughout. The poet, as is clear from his other writings as well, was most religiously minded and in this hymn he declares that he cares for nothing else than the Lord.[1] A child falling into a pit is saved even by a passerby; the poet fallen into the sea must be saved by the father, the Lord.[2] The mind of the poet, a cakora in quest of moonbeams, is terribly scorched by the wild fire of the forest of Universe; the face-moon of the Lord must now save it by the award of what it so badly needs.[3]

8. *Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭīkā*.

No MS. of this work could be availed of. Stein notices one MS. in his Catalogue of Sans. MSS. belonging to Raghunath Temple Library in Kashmir and Jammu (60. 269. 1-2).

1. त्वदङ्घ्रि-फुल्लाम्बुज-मध्य-निर्गलन्मरन्द-निःस्यन्द-मितान्त-लम्पटः ।
   मनोमिलिन्दो मम मुक्त-चापलस्त्वदन्यमीशान तृणाय मन्यते ॥ verse 4.
2. अयि गर्त-मुखे गतः शिशुः पथिकेनापि निवार्यते जवात् ।
   जनकेन पतन् भवार्णवे न निवार्यो भवता कथं विभो ॥ verse 26.
3. विशाल-विषयाटवी-वलय-लग्न-दावानल-
   प्रसृत्वर-शिखावली-विकलितं मदीयं मनः ।
   अमन्द-मिलदिन्दिरे निखिल-माधुरी-मन्दिरे
   मुकुन्द-मुख-चन्दिरे चिरमिदं चकोरायताम् ॥ verse 59.

9. *Lakṣmī-laharī*[1]

The Lakṣmī-laharī consists of 41 verses in Śikhariṇī metre and is a hymn of the goddess Lakṣmī. The poet prays to her for removing all his sins and for her kindness to him. He considers it superfluous that in a hand that is matchless in fragrance as well as tenderness adored by all poets, a lotus should bloom again; it is from this that the well-known figure of speech Simile of the kāvyas originated.[2] The necklace of the goddess that represents the assemblage of all the beauties in the world and puts to an end all the troubles of the devotees should find out the means of the poet's salvation.[3]

10. *Manoramā-kuca-mardana.*[4]

[also called Prauḍha-manoramā°]

This work that has not as yet been published is

1. Published in the Kāvya-mālā, part II. pp. 104. 111.

2. अलभ्यं सौरभ्यं कविकुल-नमस्या रुचिरता
तथापि त्वद्धस्ते निवसदरविन्दं विकसितम् ।
कलापे काव्यानां प्रकृति-कमनीय-स्तुतिविधौ
गुणोत्कर्षाधानं प्रथितमुपमानं समजनि ॥ verse 25.

3. समाहारः श्रीणां विरचितविहारो हरिदृशां
परीहारो भक्त-प्रभव-भव-सन्ताप-सरणेः ।
प्रहारः सर्वासामपि च विपदां विष्णुदयिते
ममोद्धारोपायं तव सपदि हारो विमृशतु ॥ verse 27.

4. List of Mss. belonging to Pt. Radhakrishna of Lāhore, 9 : Classified index to the Sans. MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore by Burnell, London, 1880, 40b ; Lists of Sans. Mss. in Private Libraries of Southern India by Gustav Oppert, MSS. 4339 and 4499 ; etc.

devoted to a scathing criticism of Manoramā [Prauḍhamanoramā], Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudī.

11. *Prāṇābharaṇa.*

The poet composed this panegyric in 53 verses for expressing his heart-felt delight on hearing the verses of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, king of Kāmarūpa.[2] He highly praises Prāṇanārāyaṇa for his vast learning, particularly in verses 16 and 50. There is a ṭippaṇa on this work composed by the poet himself for bringing out the rhetorical excellence of each verse. Every stanza is designed to be an excellent example of one or more rhetorical figures of speech. Grand indeed is the verse (no. 52) containing a pun on the word 'Vāmā'[3] and the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted both with reference to the enemies of the king as well as his wife. By means of a pun on the word 'Arjuna'[4] the poet

1. Ed. in the *Kāvya-māla*, Part I' pp. 79-90.

2. See the last verse (no. 52). No. 53 is an interpolation. The name of the king is given in verse no. 5. His designation कामरूपेश्वर is given in verses 2, 15 and 22.

3. आवध्नास्यलकाञ्चिरस्यसितमां चोलं रसाकाङ्क्षया
लङ्कायाा वशतां तनोषि कुरुषे जङ्घा-ललाट-क्षतम् ।
प्रत्य ं परिमर्द-निर्दयमहो चेतः समालम्बसे
वामानां विषये नृपेन्द्र भवतः प्रागल्भ्यमत्यद्भुतम् ॥ Verse 7.

4. अपारे खलु संसारे विधिनैकोऽर्जुनः कृतः ।
कीर्त्या निर्मलया भूप त्वया सर्वेऽर्जुनाः कृताः ॥ Verse 43.

charmingly describes the fame of the king extending all over the world.[1]

The MS. of the Prāṇābharaṇa belonging to the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (no. 3828) gives the name of the poet's father as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and has the reading 'Kamalādhīpasya' instead of 'Kamatādhipasya' in verse 53. Again, at the end of this MS. there is a long prose passage which is not found in the printed edition.

12. *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.*

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was not only a great poet but also one of the best rhetoricians India has ever produced. The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja is one of the best rhetorical works of India from every point of view, viz., clarity of expression, superb judgment, depth of insight, wide range of learning and so on. All the examples of the work are Jagannātha's own composition.

Unfortunately the work is available in an incomplete form, breaking off in the middle of the Uttara alaṃkāra. No definite reason for its incompletion is known. His Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana shows that it was composed after the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara and one would naturally think that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja really completed the work,

1. गगने चन्द्रिकायन्ते हिमायन्ते हिमाचले ।
पृथिव्यां सागरायन्ते भूपाल तव कीर्तयः ॥ Verse 48.

though the remaining portion of it is not available today even in MS. form. Or, it may be that in his anxiety to oppose vehemently his greatest rival Appayya Dīkṣita, he really undertook the work °khaṇḍana even before the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara was completed. The tradition that the learned scholar courted death along with his wife Lavaṅgī owing to the deliberate insult meted out by Appayya Dīkṣita probably furnishes a clue as to why both the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara and Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana are found incomplete.

13. *Sudhā-laharī.*[1]

The Sudhā-laharī presents a grand description of sunrise in 30 verses in the metre Sragdharā. The Sun rising in the East from the Udayagiri causes immense delight to all—particularly, to the lotus. It is the best healer of all diseases and inspirer to all devotees. Its rays, shooting through trees and falling on the earth, appear to young parrots like sticks and they, therefore, try to put their legs on them; the dew-drops on leaves, mixed with them, resemble the pomegranate-seeds in order to eat which they open their beaks.[2] The Sun is the son of

1. Ed. in the Kāvya-mālā, Part 1. pp. 16-22.
2. निर्भिद्य क्ष्माच्छायामतिघनमुदरं येषु गोत्रां गतेषु
द्राघिष्ठ-स्वर्णदण्ड-भ्रमभृतमनसः संनिधित्सन्ति पादान्।
यः संभिन्ने दलाग्र-प्रचल-हिमकणे दाडिमी-बीजबुद्ध्या
चञ्चू-चाञ्चल्यमञ्चन्ति च शुकशिशवस्तेऽंशवः पान्तु भानोः ॥५॥

Indra by the Eastern horizon as it were and therefore, it appears as though the birth-rites are performed in the morning.[1] The drops of water offered as oblation to the Sun appear like so many jewels in course of their fall to the ground.[2] The Sun is ever merciful to all men inasmuch as it seeks the aid of the Fire-god for their protection during its absence at night.[3]

14. *Yamunā-varṇana, a prose work.*

No complete MS. of it is as yet traced. Only two quotations from it are preserved for us in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.[4]

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja flourished at a time when even the vernacular poets were excessively fond of introducing alliteration in composition. Several Hindī verses of Vihārin and Sanskrit verses of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja are very much alike in style as well as thought. There are traces of the influence of his age upon Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja; e.g. it was customary among aristo-

1. See v, 8, कीलालैः कुङ्कुमानां, etc.
2. See v. 13, अन्तर्नीरं नदीनां etc.
3. निर्यात्यन्तःसमुद्रं सकलमपि नृणां भारमाधाय वह्ना-
   वह्नायाह्नामधीशः स भवतु भवतां भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥२३॥
4. Nirṇaya-Sāgara ed., p. 21, "तनय-मैनाक-गवेषणा-लम्बीकृत-जलधि-जठर-प्रविष्ट-हिमगिरि-भुजायमानाया भगवत्या भागीरथ्याः सखी"; p. 159. "रवि-कुल-प्रीतिमावहन्ती नर-विकुलप्रीतिमावहति। अवारित-प्रवाहा सुवारित-प्रवाहा।"

crats during Mughal rule to maintain a couple of pigeons. There is a verse in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara which refers to a pair of these love-birds.[1]

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja is undoubtedly one of the greatest rhetoricians in Sanskrit, if not the very greatest. If he could have completed the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, he would have undoubtedly eclipsed the glory of all the rhetoricians of India. It is only unfortunate that such an outstanding personality should have faced such a sad end of life. He was a great poet as well as a good prose-writer. It may be taken for granted that his Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭīkā bears the same stamp of rhetorical perfection as the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara does. It is a great pity that such an important work should still be known in name only. We implore to the authorities of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir and Jammu, to undertake the publication of this work at the earliest opportunity. It may also be presumed that the work of our Paṇḍitarāja

1. Cp. e.g,

नीलाञ्चलेन संवृतमाननमाभाति.हरिणनयनायाः ।
प्रतिबिम्बित इव यमुना-गभीर-नीरान्तरेणाङ्कः ॥ P. 258 of RG.

with Vihārin's verse :—

दिव्यो छबीलो मुह लसे नीले ग्राँचलचीर ।
मनो कलानिधि झलमले कालिन्दीके नीर ॥
निरुध्य यान्तीं तरसा कपोतीं कूजत्कपोतस्य पुरो ददाने ।
मयि स्मितार्द्रं वदनारविन्दं;सा मन्दमन्दं नमयांबभूव ॥
P. 97 of R. G.

on Sanskrit Grammar, the Monoramā-kuca-mardana, would be also a work of outstanding merit. Trained in the same school as that of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and probably, his contemporary too—in any case, a direct disciple of Vīreśvara, son of Seśakṛṣṇa, Bhaṭṭoji's guru—Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was eminently fit for this critical work. Jagannātha's panegyrics of the then kings of India and hymns on various deities are also quite up to the standard of the author of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.

SEVERAL OTHER SANSKRIT POETS PATRONISED BY MUSLIM RULERS

Amṛtadatta was the court-poet of Shahabuddin who severely threatened Mīraśāha planning for the invasion of Kashmir.[1] Shahabuddin must have flourished in or before the twelfth century when Śrīdharadāsa, author of the Sadukti-karṇāmṛta, adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇasena as is evident from the fact that one of the verses of Amṛtadatta is quoted in the Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta.[2] This verse and several other verses[3] quoted

1. Verse 608 and of the Subhāṣitāvali :—

   काश्मीरागन्तुकामस्य मीरशाहाख्य-भूपतेः ।
   शाहाबुद्दीन भूमीन्द्रः प्राहिणोदिति लेखकम् ॥
   किमेवमविशङ्कितः शिशु-कुरङ्ग-लोल-क्रमं
   परिक्रमितुमीहसे विरम नैव शून्यं वनम् ।
   स्थितोऽत्र गजयूथ-नाथ-मथनोच्छलोच्छोणित-
   च्छटा-पटल-भासुरोत्कट-सटा-भरः केसरी ॥ मा० अमृतदत्तस्य

2. II. 20. 3, p. 81, Lahore ed., उत्तराप्रथ-कान्तानां, etc.
3. Verses of Amṛtadatta quoted in the SSV.

No.		Subjects
No. 805 :	अत्यन्तशीतलतया सुभग०	[वृक्षान्योक्तिः]
,, 2455 :	अपूर्वयं धनुर्विद्या	[चाटूक्तिः]
,, 429 :	अमरैरमृतं न पीतं	[दुर्जन-निन्दा]
,, 2456 :	अमी पान-करम्भाभाः	[चाटूक्तिः]

in the Subhāṣitāvalī are not found anywhere else. Two of his verses are found in the Subhāṣitāvalī as well as the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jalhaṇa.[1]

		Subjects
No. 2454 :	आहते तव निःसाणे	[चाटूक्तिः]
,, 50 :	उद्धृत्त-दंन्य०	[आशीर्वचः]
,, 949 :	एवं चेद्विधिना कृतः	[मरुः]
,, 72 :	कर-जालमपूर्वं०	[आशीर्वचः]
,, 148 :	कवीनां महतां	[कवि-काव्य-प्रशंसा]
,, 609 :	किमेवमविशङ्कितः	[सिंहान्योक्तिः]
,, 940 :	किं पान्थ निर्मथन०	[मरुः]
,, 2457 :	कीर्तिस्ते जात०	[चाटूक्तिः]
,, 2291 :	कृष्णः क्रीडितवान् गोभिः	[हास्यम्]
,, 156 :	जीवित इव कण्ठगते सूक्ते	[कवि-काव्य-प्रशंसा]
,, 1030 :	त्रैलोक्योपकृति०	[विन्ध्यवासिनी]
,, 2458 :	दुनोति त्वामत्रवतः	[चाटूक्तिः]
,, 989 :	देवी क्व दुर्गतिहरा भगिनी	[मैनाकः]
,, 853 :	न पालयति मर्यादां	[समुद्रः]
,, 796 :	फल-कुसुम-किसलयोज्ज्वल०	[वृक्षः]
,, 34 :	मदमयमदमयदुरगं	[आशीर्वचः]
,, 966 :	मृदु-सुभग-परिकररुचो	[कामदेवः]
,, 73 :	युष्माकमम्बर-मणेः	[आशीर्वचः]
,, 2477 :	सकृपाणां द्विषां	[चाटूक्तिः]
,, 718 :	समुद्गिरसि वाचः किं	[कोकिलान्योक्तिः]
,, 2453 :	सरस्वती स्थिता वक्त्रे	[चाटूक्तिः]
,, 2574 :	सौभाग्यस्य समर्पणे	[,,]

1. SSV. 1032, कीऽयं भ्रान्ति-प्रकारस्तव, etc.

Sūktimuktāvalī, p. 61, v. 6.

.. 1143. भक्ति-प्रह्व-विलोकन०, etc.

Sūktimuktāvalī, p. 27, v. 64.

This second verse has been quoted by Mammaṭa also in his Kāvya-prakāśa.

Amṛtadatta is a good poet. Some of his verses are really enjoyable. Thus in censuring the wicked, he says that neither the nectar was drunk by the gods, nor the poison by Śiva but they persist still in the world in the honeyed speech and the heart of the wicked respectively.[1]

Again censuring the desert, the poet says he censures it not because it cannot be of any service to anybody but because it deceives the thirsty people by deluding them through mirage.[2]

In his verse on the sentiment of Laughter, Lakṣmī is said to be fond of the dull-witted (go-buddhi) because her husband used to play with the cows (go-s). As a chaste lady, she is intensely devoted to those who have some semblance with the favourites of her husband.[3] This refers to the traditional enmity between the two co-wives Lakṣmī, the goddess of Fortune and Sarasvatī,

1. अमरैरमृतं न पीतमब्धेर्न च हालाहलमुल्वणं हरेण ।
   विधिना निहितं खलस्य वाचि द्वयमेतद्बहिरेकमन्तरन्यत् ॥
   भा० अमृतदत्तस्य ॥ SSV. 429,
2. एवं चेद्विधिना कृतोऽस्युपकृतौ कस्याञ्चिदप्यक्षमः
   कामं मोपकृथास्ततस्तव मरो वाच्यं न धीरो भव ।
   किन्त्वारान्मृगतृष्णयोपजनयन्नम्भोमुचां वञ्चनां
   प्रेम्णाकर्षसि तर्ष-मूर्छित-धियोऽप्यन्यानतः शोच्यसे ॥ SSV. 949
3. कृष्णः क्रीडितवान् गोभिरिति गो-तुल्य-बुद्धिषु ।
   पक्षपातवती लक्ष्मीरहो देवी पतिव्रता ॥ SSV. 2291.

the goddess of Learning; Lakṣmī is said to favour the dull-witted while scholars are destined to suffer from poverty. It is not improbable that the verse has a personal significance.

In his verse on the sea, he says the sea may at times transgress its coastal limit (maryādā) but never violates the self-imposed rule (maryādā) that it would not be of any service to the thirsty.[1] In the verse भक्ति-प्रह्व विलोकन. etc. he exhibits his skill in intellectual exercises. He uses all the adjectives to Netre (neuter-dual) and tanuḥ (feminine-singular) as well as the verb in such a way that they qualify both Netre and tanuḥ without any alteration in form:—

> भक्ति-प्रह्व-विलोकन-प्रणयिनी नीलोत्पल-स्पर्धिनी
> ध्यानालम्बनतां समाधि-निरतैर्नीतेहित-प्राप्तये ।
> लावण्यस्य महानिधी रसिकतां लक्ष्मीदृशोस्तन्वती
> युष्माकं कुरुतां भवार्ति-शमनं नेत्रे तनुर्वा हरेः ॥ SSV. 43.

In this verse the poet prays that either the eyes of Hari or his body may remove all the sorrows of the people due to the cycle of births. From the available verses, however, Amṛtadatta does not seem to have possessed a very fertile imagination and novelty of thought. His verses are rather stereotyped.

1. न पालयति मर्यादां वेलाख्यामम्बुधिस्तथा ।
तृष्यतां नोपकर्त्तव्यमितीमामपरां यथा ॥ SSV. 853.

PUṆḌARĪKA VIṬṬHALA

Puṇḍarīka mainly wrote on Music. He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A.D. at Anandavalli in Khandesh. Burhan's father and grand-father were Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan respectively. Subsequently Puṇḍarīka came to the court of Mādhavasiṃha of the Kacchapa dynasty, son of Bhagavantadāsa and grandson of Bhānu and composed his Rāga-mañjarī at his instance. Puṇḍarīka was a favourite of Akbar as well.

As the Rāga-mālā of the same author is dated Śaka 1498 (1576 A.D.), Puṇḍarīka must have flourished in the middle of the 16th century A.D.[1]

HARINĀRĀYAṆA MIŚRA

The Padya-veṇī preserves two verses by this poet in one of which he praises Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.) and therefore, he flourished about three hundred years ago. The last line of this verse presents some difficulty in sense; probably, the readings of both the MSS. are corrupt; still, the verse[2] is a good one.

1. Bhandarkar's Reports, 1884-87, No 1026.
2. भूभृन्मौलि-तटीषु, etc. PV. 144=SS. 138. For the complete verse, See Supplement : Shah Jahan.

VAMŚĪDHARA MĪŚRA

The Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī preserves one verse of Vaṃśidhara Miśra who was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan. Thus in one verse Jagganātha Paṇḍitarāja, favourite poet of Shah Jahan, says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable. Vaṃśīdhara Miśra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahādeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull. It is he, not Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, who as a favourite of Durgā (the queen) is really the Lion and is capable of vanquishing all others.[1]

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, v. 200, p. 49 :—

दिगन्ते श्रूयन्ते मद-मलिन-गण्डाः करटिनः
करिण्यः कारुण्यास्पदमसम-शीलाः खलु मृगाः ।
इदानीं लोकेऽस्मिन्ननुपम-शिखानां पुनरयं
नखानां पाण्डित्यं प्रकटयतु कस्मिन्मृगपतिः ॥

पण्डितराजस्य ॥

Op. cit., v. 201. p. 49 :—

दिङ्नागाः प्रतिपेदिरे प्रथमतो जात्यैव जेतव्यतां
सम्भाव्य-स्फुट-विक्रमोऽथ वृषभो गौरेव गौरीपतेः ।
विक्रान्तेर्निकषं करोतु कतमं नाम त्रिलोकी तले
कण्ठेकाल-कुटुम्बिनी-करुणया सिक्तः स कण्ठीरवः ॥

वंशीधर-मिश्रस्य ॥

Commenting on the second verse, Jayarāma, author of Sopāna, commentary of the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of his father Haribhāskara, says :—

"अथैतस्यान्यापदेशस्य दिल्लीन्द्र-शाहजहान-महिष्याः सेवको वंशीधर-नामा

CATURBHUJA

This poet and rhetorician composed his Rasa-kalpadruma for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan, Aurangzib's maternal uncle and General. Unfortunately, this valuable work has not as yet been published.[1] It was written in Saṃvat 1745 or 1689 A.D. (बाणाशर्षिशशाङ्काङ्के वैशाखे पूर्णिमागुरौ) i.e. the 31st year of Ālamgir's reign. Herein he gives the genealogy of his patron:—

Itamāddoulā
|
Asak Khān
|
Shayasta Khān[2]

कविर्येनान्यापदेशपद्येन प्रत्युत्तरमदात्तदुपन्यस्यति दिङ्नागा इति···। यदि वृषभे गौरीपति-सम्बन्धेन विक्रमः सम्भाव्यते. तथा मय्यपि कण्ठेकाल-कुटुम्बिनी-सम्बन्धेन स तुल्य एव, परन्तु वृषभे जाति-कृता विक्रम-संभावना नैव प्रादुर्भवेदिति ध्वनयन्नाह कण्ठेकाल इत्यादिना......"।

1. Ms. belongs to the Ulwar Maharaja Mss. Library; see Peter Peterson's Catalogue of Sansk. Mss., No. 1067.

2. आद्यः सर्वमहीभुजां प्रतिभट-ध्वान्तैक-घर्मद्युती
राजश्री-नववल्लि-वेष्टित-भुज-स्तम्भ-द्वयः सहृयः।
अष्टाशा-करि-कर्णतालज-मरुन्मूर्छत्-प्रतापानलः
क्ष्माभृन्मौलि-छलालिताङ्घ्रि-र इतमाद्दौलेतिनामाऽभवत् ॥५॥
त्रिभुवन-जन-गीतोद्दाम-चाप-प्रताप-
श्वरण-कमल-नम्रोत्सारितानेक-तापः।
अजनि करिवरोच्चैर्मांसल-स्कन्ध-पीठः
छतनुरसक-खानः सूनुरस्मात् क्षतारिः ॥६॥

This work consists of Caturbhuja's verses as well as those of other poets, viz. Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa, Ugragraha, Kaṃsanārāyaṇa, Kavīndra, Kuñjakuṭīra, Kulapati, Kṛṣṇānanda-Miśra, Gadādhara, Gauḍayādava, King Jaganmaṇi(?), Ḍhakkārāva, Daśāvadhāna, Dhanadeva, Navīna-Kavīndra, Nāthamiśra, Pañcānana, Paraśurāma, Bhāratī-Kavi Bhūpati-Miśra, Maṇḍana, Mati, Mahāmanuṣya, Mohana-Miśra, Raghupati, Rantideva, Rāmacandra-Sarasvatī, Rāmarāma, Ruci, Vasanta, Vāṇīrasāla, Vāhinīpati, Viśvaṃbhara, Vidyānidhi, *Shayasta Khan*, Saṃjayā(?), Kavirāja, Sarvadāsa, Svasthāna-Miśra, Haripati Bhaṭṭa and Harīndra. Besides these, the verses of three women poets have also been quoted, viz. Madhuravallī, Lakhyā and Vidyā. The pratikas of their verses are given below:—

यद्दानन्तु जगत्प्रसिद्धमभवद्राज्यानि यद्याचका
राजानः सुलतानशाह-सदृशा ये चापरे मानिनः ।
यद्भृत्याश्च नृपा नृपास्त्वनुचरा यस्य प्रतापो रवि-
श्चन्द्रो यस्य यशोऽभ्युदेत्यसक-खानासीद्गुणैः सोऽद्भुतः ॥७॥

अस्ति स्वस्तिकरः समस्त-जगती-वास्तव्य-लोकस्य यो
ध्वस्तात्रस्त सपत्न-मस्तक-भरो लक्ष्म्याऽतिवास्तोष्पतिः ।
शस्त-स्तुत्य-यशा निरस्त-तिमिर-स्तोमो मनस्तस्ततः
शास्ताखान-नृपो विहस्त-मतिभृच्छस्त्रास्त्र-शास्त्रार्णवे ॥८॥

जानामि दानाव सुवर्णशैलं स्तवाय तावद्वचनानि वेधाः ।
शायस्त-खानस्य यशःप्रताप-साम्याय सोम-द्युमणी स सर्ज ॥९॥
तस्यानुरञ्जनायैव ग्रन्थं नव-रसात्मकम् ।
चतुर्भुजो रचयति स्वपद्यैश्च परैरपि ॥

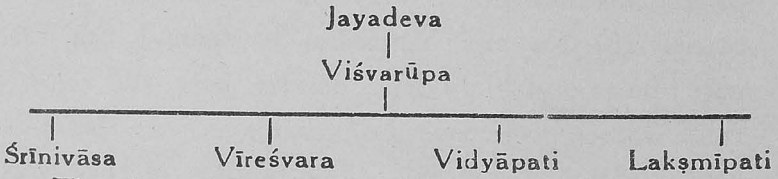
1. Madhuravallī—(i) रक्ताशोक-कृशोदरी ; (ii) दुर्जन-विभव० ; (iii) वधिरस्येव शु— ; (iv) दिव्यचत्तुरहं ; (v) मित्र तत्र भवता ; (vi) निःक्षिप्तं कबरी ; (vii) कुवलय-नयना

2. Lakhyā :—(i) अयमहो रजनी

3. Vidyā :—(i) अन्यासु तासु

There are sixty-five Prastāvas or chapters and one thousand verses in the Rasa-kalpa-druma.

LAKṢMĪPATI

The lineage of the poet[1] as given by himself in the Ābdullāh-carita,[2] published as Vol. I of Sanskrit History Series from the Prācyavani, Calcutta, 1948 is as follows :—

The date of the composition of the work is 1643 of the Śaka era i.e. 1721 A.D.

Lakṣmīpati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how mischief-mongers bring about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor; particularly, with the object of secur-

1. विश्व-विख्यात-भूदेवो जयदेवात्मजो महान् ।
विश्वरूपः स्मृतो लोके चत्वारस्तु सुताः स्मृताः ॥
तेषामाद्यः श्रीनिवासो नाम-तुल्य-गुणान्वितः ।
वीरेश्वरो द्वितीयस्तु विद्या-विनय-विक्रमी ॥
लक्ष्मीपतिश्चतुर्थस्तु तस्य या लिपि-मालिका ।
विदुषां चित्त-कमले भ्रमरीवास्तु सा भृशम् ॥

2. Prepared from the only MS. belonging to Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, No. 2484.

ing his own position against all the odds that might befall him.[1]

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the second year of the reign of Mahammad Shah.[2]

1. See p. 71, vv. 1798—1804.

राजकार्यकरे द्वेषस्तनयस्यापि जायते ।
तद्वशात्तस्य पैशुन्यं क्रियते निखिलैर्जनैः ॥
राजान्तिके तदुक्त्या तु क्रियते तेन तत्परः ।
सहकार-तरुं छित्त्वा निम्बस्याऽऽरोपणं यथा ॥
क्रियते केनचित्...तथा राज्ञा तु चोत्तमम् ।
मन्त्रिणं नाशयित्वा तु क्रियते सचिवः परः ॥
कुञ्जरो न महामात्रं विना तिष्ठति वै यथा ।
तथा नृपोऽपि सचिवं विना तिष्ठति न क्वचित् ॥
लोकोक्त्या मन्त्रिविध्वंसो राजभिः सर्व-भावतः ।
मन्यते पुरुषार्थस्तु नितरामपुमर्थकः ॥
अवदुल्लो यथा लोक-वाक्यतो भूमिजानिना ।
निगृहीतोऽस्ति लोकानामुक्तितस्तु तथा मम ॥
मत्स्वामिनाऽपि कर्तव्यो निग्रहस्त्विति जानता ।
मया विलिखितं चास्ति यत् किञ्चिदत्र तत्पुनः ॥
हिन्दुकैश्चापि यवनैर्नितरां तु पदस्थितैः ।
वाचनीयमिदं प्रीत्या स्व-पद-स्थैर्य-हेतवे ।
लोकोक्त्या न मयि द्वेषः कर्तव्यो मम नाशकः ॥

2. Cf. the Later Mughals by William Irvine, ed. by (Sir) Jadunath Sarkar, vol. I (1707-1720) and vol. II (1721-1739). Calcutta, M. C. Sircar and Sons, 1922.

This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and particularly Aurangzeb.[1]

Lakṣmīpati deals, in this campū Abdullācarita with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi. Abdullah, Husian Ali Khan and Surphadī Saiyed Khan were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi. Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man. Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many rtasons; still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did. As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyad. Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah. It is clear from the

1. E.g. p. 32, v. 897—

औरङ्गजेवमारभ्य व्यवहारस्त्वयाऽखिलः।

दृष्टोऽस्ति त्वद्विधैरेव मादृशामन्तिकेऽन्वहम्।

P. 33, v. 842—

दाराशाहं निरुत्साह-युक्तं कृत्वा रणाङ्गने।

औरङ्गजेव-हस्ताब्जे नय-लक्ष्मीः समर्पिता।

p. 35, v. 947—Mahammad Shah is here addressed औरङ्गजेवभूनाथ-कुलाम्भोधि-कलानिधे। वेदिली मम जाताऽस्ति......

For all references to these names. See General Index.

work that Lakṣmīpati was a good Sanskrit scholar, showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyāya,[1] Jyotiṣa[2] and Tantra.[3] He also profusely quotes many maxims, verses from the Bhagavad-gītā, the Bhāgavata and so on. He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well.[4]

That Lakṣmīpati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition. Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned, it must be said to his credit that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised E.g.

V. 34 स नरो गोस्तनीं त्यक्त्वा करोति गोस्त (گوشت)[5]-भक्षणम् ।

V. 36 यतस्ततो मया भुक्त्वा जहरं (زهر)[6] त्यज्यते वपुः ।

V. 66 गुणाहमन्तरा (گناه)[7] त्यक्तुं करोति स्वस्य दिल्लके (دل)[8] ।
कम्बक्तः (کمبخت)[10] सोऽपि ज्ञातव्यः कुलद्रुम-कुठारकः ॥

V. 35 अश्नामि च तयोर्दत्तं पञ्जरस्थित-सेरवत् (شیر)[9] ।

V. 69 स वावरहितो... जवावं (جواب)[11] किं प्रदास्यति ।

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1. E.g. v. 1313, प्रतिबन्धक-काले तु न काय कारणादपि। जायते तु etc.; p. 104, घटेन दण्ड-कार्येण, etc. v. 777.
2. E.g. vv. 436-463.
3. V. 716, also ref. to Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇa.
4. E.g. v. 611—योषित्पुरुषयोर्वैरं निषिद्धमस्ति वै यथा ।
5. Flesh...(here, beef)
6. poison.
7. Without vice.
8 In the soul.
9. Like a lion.
10. Sinner; unfortunate.
11. Repy.

V. 73 वजीरेषु (وزیر)[1] च योषित्सु दुष्मणो (دشمنی)[2] यैर्विधीयते।
V. 79 चन्द्रेण मुस्तरी (مشتری)[3] भार्या सर्वदा वज्रि-वन्दिता।
V. 83 शराब (شراب)[4] पानतो नष्ट-चश्मैः (چشم)[5] नृपति-नन्दनैः।
V. 84 मदान्धस्तु यथा पीलो (پیلو)[6] महामात्तस्य, etc.
V. 91 तत्कालमेव खबर (خبر)[7] ग्राहकेण सुबुद्धिना।
V. 93 माहताव (مهتاب)[8] कर-स्पृष्टमम्भोजमिव दृश्यते।
V. 92 शुवाह गोछलं (غسل)[9] कृत्वा...
V. 600 हिलालमन्तरा (هلال)[10] चन्द्र आशमाने (آسمان)[11] न विराजते।
,, ,, फ़ामोशी (فراموشی)[13] न विधातव्यो वरदास्तं[14] (برداشت) विधीयताम्।
V. 608 दलिल (دلیل)[12] मस्ति मे सत्यं...

Lakṣmīpati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of the North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show.[15] He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.

1. Vizir. 2. Enmity.
3. Jupiter, 4. Wine. 5. Eyes
6. Elephant. 7. News. 8. The moon.
9. Bath. 10. Crescent. 11. Sky.
12. Bond; evidence. 13. Anger. 14. Tolerance.
15. E.g. करोति मिरजुमला स्तुतिं यस्य तु सर्वदा।
अवदुल्लेन किं तेन क्रियते ज्ञायते न तत्॥ V. 735
पठाना रोहलाकाश्च मुगलाः सैयदास्तथा।
येनाऽऽत्मीयाः कृताः सन्ति तेनाग्रे किं विधीयते॥ V. 737
ढक्का-प्रदेशे यश्चास्ति भवतु-पूर्वज-सम्मतः।
सोऽपि नायाति त्वां द्रष्टुम् अवदुल्ल-भयान्वितः॥ V. 852.

PROPAGATION OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING DURING MUSLIM RULE

In Mediaeval ages the Mahomedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskritic knowledge and Culture. In this respect the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325 A.D.) to whom our great Vidyāpati dedicated one of his *padas*,[1] ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata. It is not exactly known whether Kṛttivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa. Even though the latter might have ordered the same, the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa was translated into Bengali by Mālādhara Basu at the instance of Emperor Husain Shah. Kavīndra Parameśvara translated up to the Strī-parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khan, general of Husain Shah. The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique. Every evening he and his courtiers congregated in his palace at Parāgalpur in Feni for listening

1. In one of his Padas, Vidyāpati respectfully refers to another ruler of Bengal, viz. Sultan Ghiyasuddin II (1367-1373 A.D.).

to Kavīndra's translation. His son Chuṭi Khān also encouraged Śrīkara Nandin for carrying out a similar work. When he became the Governor of Chittagong, he ordered Śrīkara to translate the Aśvamedha-Parvan of the Mahābhārata which he did.

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the Imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propagation of Sanskritic learning in various ways. Bābar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which, consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom. He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samarqand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans.[1] Nothing much about Humāyūn's enterprise for the spread of Sanskritic learning or his encouragement to Sanskritic scholars is known. But his great son Ākbar compensated enough for this lack, if any, on his father's part. In 1582 A.D., he ordered Naqīb Khān to translate the Mahābhārata. He evinced much personal interest in this work. He personally explained to Naqīb night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution. He ordered Ābdul Qādir, author of Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī, to assist Naqīb in this

1. Erskine's Memoirs of Babar, pp. 50, 51. Ulugh Beg Mīrzā entrusted the charge to Qāzīzādah Rūmī; on his death, to Maulānā Ghiyasuddin Jamshīd; and subsequently to Ibn' Alī Muhammad Koshjī.

work. Two *parvans* were translated within a few months. Then Mulla Sherī and Sulṭān Ḥājī Thānes-warī collaborated. Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second Book. Ḥājī who was engaged in revising Faizi's work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work. This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic. This condensed version was named Razm-Nāmah or Book of War.[1] Subsequently it was highly decorated with pictures. For the MS. of this work Akbar spent £40,000. The preface to the work was written by Abul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles.[2] By order of the emperor, Abdul Qādir began the translation of the Rāmāyaṇa in 1585 A.D. and completed the same in 1589 A.D.[3] At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Ābdul Qādir began the translation of the Atharva-veda. On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaik Faizi. Subsequently, however, the duty devolv-ed upon Ḥājī Ibrāhim Sarhindī.[4]

1. Martin notices in his Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey, vol. I, P. 127 that the MS. is at present at Jaipur.

2. Gladwin's Āin-i-Akbarī, p. 85; and Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī; Elliot, V, p. 537-538.

3. Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī, Elliot V, p. 539.

4. Lowe's Muntakhabul-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p. 216.

Faizi translated into Persian the Līlāvatī and Mukammal Khān Gujrātī the astronomical work Tājak. Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shāhbādī translated the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit into Persian. This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the Rāja-taraṅgiṇī as Maulānā Imāmuddīn is the reputed translator of this work[1]. A Persian version of the Hari-vaṃśa was made by Naṣrullah Muṣṭafā and of the Pañcatantra under the title *Kalīlah-Damnah* by Maulānā Ḥusiani Wāiz. An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title 'Ayār-Dānish.'[2] The model of Layalā and Majnūn was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of Nala and Damayantī under the title Nal-Daman.[3] The Emperor ordered Abdul Qādir to translate the Dvātriṃśat-Puttalikā-Siṃhāsana[4] with the help of a learned Brāhmaṇa under the title Khirad-Afzā-Nāmah.[5] The Gaṅgādhara and the Maheśa-Mahānanda were translated under the general supervision of Abul Fazl.[6]

1. Elliot V, p. 478; Asiatic Researches, vol. XV, p. 2; and Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbarī, vol. I, p. 106.
2. Gladwin's Āin-i-Akbarī, p. 87.
3. Faizi's collection was in possession of 101 copies of this work; Tārikh-i-Badāūnī, Elliot, V, p. 548.
4. Also called Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśat, Vikramārka-carita, Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā-siṃhāsana, Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā and Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā.
5. Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī, Elliot, V, pp. 483, 484 and 513.
6. Blochmann's Āin-i-Ākbarī, p. 104.

Dārā Shikoh was a *great* Sanskrit scholar. He patronised a very large number of Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas hailing from all over India, particularly, Benares and with their help, he translated into Persian several Upaniṣads under the name Sirr-ul-Akbar or the Great Secret. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sūfī called Mullā Shāh and studied a lot about Sūfī-ism. His labour was in vain; Sūfī-ism could not give the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.[1] On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu Culture, he always engraved the word "Prabhu" or Lord on his Diamond-rings and other valuable articles. His Sirr-ul-Akbar was completed in 1657 A.D.[2] He also translated the Yoga-Vāśiṣṭha though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed, one being executed under the patronising care of his great-grand-father Akbar. In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sūfī-ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A.D. a very valuable work called the Samudrasaṅgama[3] on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sūfī phraseology. In

1. Alamgīr-Nāmah. Elliot, VII, p. 179.

2. Anquetil-Duperon published a Latin translation of this work in 1801 ; see Constable's Bernier, p. 323 n.

3. For a critical edition and translation of this work, See Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature, vol III.

his grand work Mukālamah-i-Bābā Lāl Das he deals with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Bābā Lāl Dāsa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism.

Dārā Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well-versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it. Six of them are quoted in Caturbhuja's Rasa-kalpa-druma which is not as yet published and a MS. of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja's MSS. Library.[1] The *Pratīkas* of the verses are given below:—

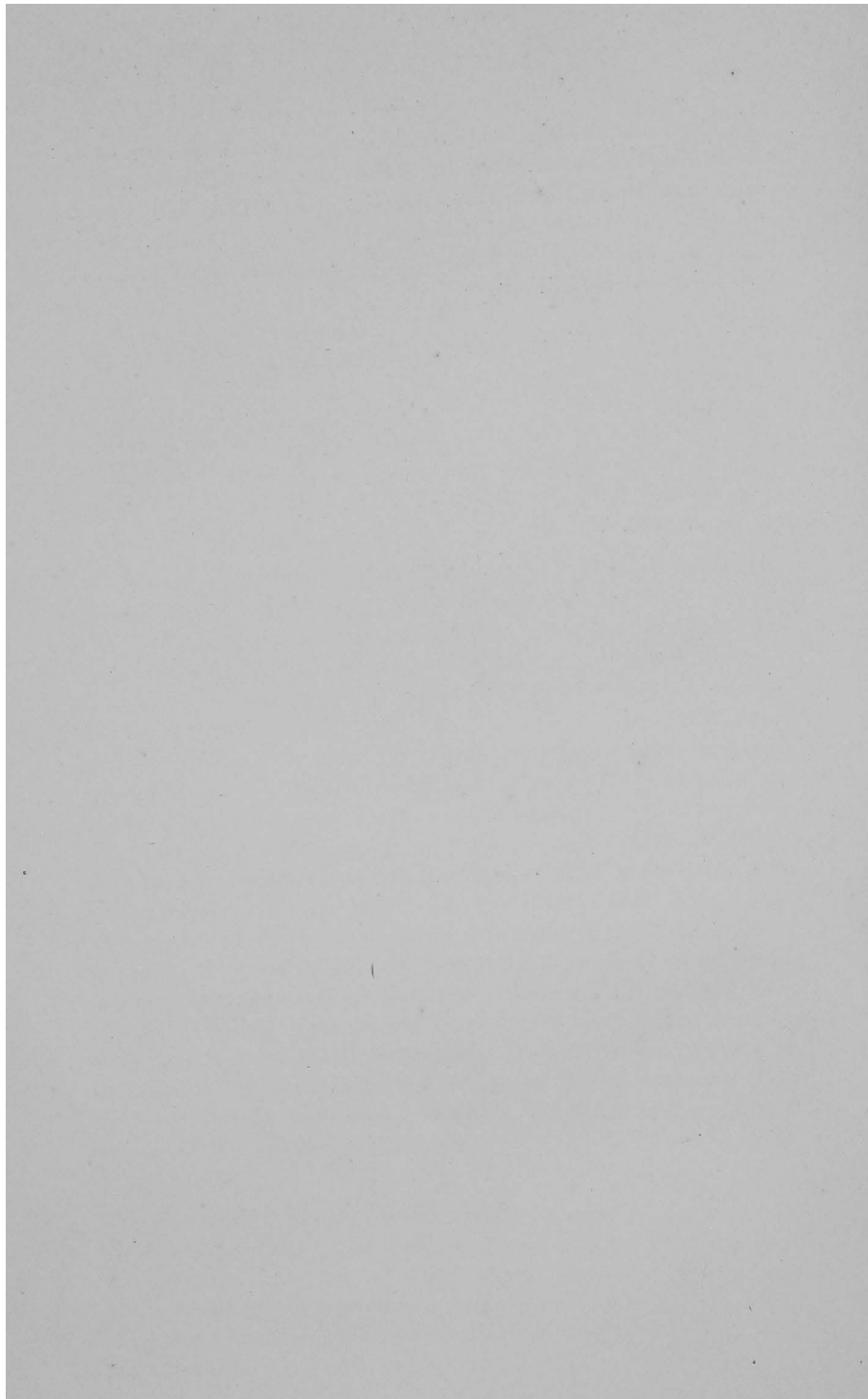
i.	करान् प्रसार्य	iv.	किंशुक-व्याजतो
ii.	वस्तुतः शुद्ध स्रात्मा	v.	नीरादेव जनुः
iii.	गन्तव्यान्नाविक	vi.	क्षाराम्बु-मधु—

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc. not only cared whole-heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit Literature.

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskritic learning in another way as well. That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into Vernaculars or Arabic and Persian. The Hindu nobles and Chiefs followed the

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson, Bombay, 1892, MS. No. 1067. For details, see pp. 78-80.

noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskritic learning prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskritic learning and two new important branches of Sanskritic studies, viz. the Navya-Smṛti and the Navya Nyāya, came into existence.

Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, Chieftains as well as Emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskritic learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit Literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses, etc.; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskritic learning and Culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernaculars; (5) by making great Sanskrit scholars translate well-known Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernaculars. From the evidences adduced above, we can at once trace the fusion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.

SUPPLEMENT

I

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON THE MAHOMEDAN PATRONS OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING.

PATRONS	NO. OF VERSES
1. Akbar	... 5
2. Emperor of Delhi ...	... 1
3. Jahangir	... 1
4. Muddafar Shah ...	... 1
5. Nizam Shah	... 10
6. Shah Jahan	... 2
7. Sher Shah	... 1
	21

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON MUSLIM RULERS OF INDIA

1. AKBAR

1. [अथ राज-वर्णनम्]

शार्दूलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे मदकल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे

दोःस्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधरः केशरी मध्यदेशे ।

धम्मिल्ले ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भ्रू-युगे काल-दण्ड-

स्तत्सत्यं श्रीहुमाऊ-कुलतिलक-मणे भीषणाद्भीषणोऽसि[1] ॥

॥ अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य ॥

[DESCRIPTION OF THE KING]

As regards your forearm, you are a tiger; as regards your shoulder, a fleshy intoxicated elephant; as regards your pillar-like arms, a noble elephant; as regards your voice, cloud; as regards your waist, a lion; in your sword, there is immense darkness; as regards your mind, you are an ocean; as regards your eye-brows, the staff of death; there is no doubt, O scion of the family of Humāyūn, that you are more terrible than the terrible one (Yama).

2. [अथ खड्गः]

हस्ताम्भोजालि-माला नख-शशि-रुचिर-श्यामलच्छाय-वीची

तेजोऽग्नेर्धूम-धारा वितरण-करिणो गण्ड-दान-प्रणाली ।

वैरि[2]-श्री-वेणि-दण्डो लवणिम-सरसी-बाल-शैवाल-वल्ली

वेल्लत्यम्भोधरश्रीरकबर-धरणीपाल-पाणौ कृपाणी[3] ॥

अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य ।

1. PV. 53,

2. V,r. वरश्री०

3. P.T. 89 = PV. 138 = PR. 21. 37

The sword shines in the hand of Emperor Akbar (as it were) like a swarm of bees on the hand-lotus, the agreeable and dark shade of the moon-like nails, the column of smoke of the fire of prowess, the flow of ichor on the temple of the elephant of Gift,[1] the stuff-like plaited hair of the Fortune of the enemy,[2] the young duck-weed (Blyxa Octandra) growing in the lake of beauty,—the sword which is as graceful as (the dark) cloud.[3]

3. [अथ रण-प्रयाणम्]

गाजी-जल्लालदीन-क्षितिप-कुलमणे[:]द्राक् प्रयाणे प्रतीते
प्रेयस्यः प्रारभन्ते तरलतर-गति-व्याकुला मङ्गलानि ।
नेत्राम्भःपूर-पूर्ण-स्तन-कलश-मुखन्यस्त-बाल-प्रबाला-
स्त्रुट्यन्मुक्ता-कलाप-च्युत-कुच-कुसुमच्छद्मना कीर्ण-लाजाः ॥

1. This implies the generosity of the King.

2. I.e. the emperor is pulling the hair of Lady Fortune of his enemy. This implies that his rivals are constantly under his strict control.

3. The sword is here compared to various dark objects Thus :

Hand of Akbar compared to	His sword compared to
1. lotus	1. swarm of black bees.
2. moon (finger-nails)	2. dark spot on the moon
3. fire	3. smoke issuing from it.
4. elephant of Gift	4. ichor flowing from it.
5. ×	5. plaited hair
6. lake of beauty	6. duck-weed.

O Gāzi Jallaluddin, the foremost of all kings, as soon as your beloved ones are convinced of your march for conquest they,—moving to and fro in confusion—begin to perform the auspicious rites; their children are the tender leaves on the tops of the breast-pitchers filled up with tears and they go on scattering fried rice under the pretext of falling pearls and the flowers dropping down from their breasts.[1]

4. [अथ रण;]

वीर त्वं कार्मुकं चेदकबर कलयस्युग्र टङ्कार-घोषं
दूरे सद्यः कलङ्का इव धरणिभृतो यान्ति कङ्काल-शेषाः ।
शङ्कापन्नश्च किं कारणमिति मनसा भ्रान्ति-पङ्कायितेन
त्यक्त्वाऽहङ्कारमङ्काद्विसृजति गृहिणीं किं च लङ्काधिनाथः[2] ॥

The Emperor on the battle-field.

O Akbar the hero! when you carry the bow with a terrible twanging sound, the stain-like Kings reduced to skeletons immediately recede to a great distance. The

1. For the performance of auspicious rites, new mango-leaves are placed on the top of pitchers filled with holy water. Further, fried rice is scattered all around. Here the breasts of the ladies of the harem soaked with their tears are conceived as pitchers filled with holy water and the suckling babes as the fresh leaves covering the top of the pitchers; and the pearls and flowers, torn asunder in distress, as the fried rice scattered all around.

2. PT. 97=SS. 158.

king of Laṅkā seized with terror, shunning his pride as a consequence of his mind being besmeared with the mud of confusion about the (real) cause, abandons his wife.[1]

5. [अथ कीर्तिः]

विस्फार्य व्योम-गङ्गामल-गुरु[2]-लहरी-कैतवात् केसराली-
　　रुच्चैर्मास्तक्य[3]-देशे हिमकर-रूपटान्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
दिङ्नागारब्ध-झम्पस्तव[4] विशद-यशःकेसरी काविलेन्द्र[5]
　　ब्रह्माण्डारण्य-वीथी-गिरि-गहन-दरी-संक्रमी चंक्रमीति[6] ॥

[अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य]

Fame.

O Lord of Kabul, the great lion of your fame is again and again roaming about, having spread out its manes in the form of transparent and big waves of the Mandākini, and having coiled up its tail on its lofty head in the form of the Moon,[7] and having jumped upon the

1. The king of Laṅkā is unable to determine the cause of the terrible sound of the Emperor's bow and of the immediate destruction of the enemies of the Emperor. This confuses his mind which again makes him give up his pride and run away, leaving even his wife behind.

2. v.r. SS. गङ्गाबलदुरु०
3. v.r. SS. मस्तिष्कदेशे
4. v.r. SS. लम्बस्तव ।
5. v r. SS. गुर्जरेन्द्र
6. PV. 76=SS. 80.
7. Here the fame of the king is conceived as a mighty lion as high as the sky. So the manes of the lion are said to be the waves of the celestial river Mandākinī while the coil of its tail, the moon.

quarter-elephants[1] and having come into contact with all the forests in the world and the deep caves in mountains.[2]

2. EMPEROR OF DELHI

राजेति क्षणदाकरं विजयते दानोरुलक्ष्मीरिति
स्वर्नागं बहु-वाहिनीपतिरिति क्षीरोदमाक्रन्दति ।
दुर्गाधीश इति स्फुटं पुररिपुं विद्वेष्टि भोगोद्भट-
श्रीरित्यर्दति वासुकिं स्व-यशसा दिल्लीन्द्र-चूडामणिः ॥

वाणीकण्ठाभरणस्य

As a king[3] the paramount lord of Delhi puts the Moon to shame and the Airāvata that is exquisitely beautiful on account of shedding ichor,[4] challenges the Kṣīroda sea which is the lord of many rivers,[5] rivals,

1. I.e. the King's fame spread over the quarters. It implies that the King's fame spread far and near on all sides.

2. I.e. just as a lion has access even to a deep and remote forest, caves etc., so the king's fame now rules supreme in every nook and corner of the world.

3. Here the pun is on the word Rājan:—1 king ; 2 Moon.

4. The pun here is on the Dānorulakṣmī. In the case of the king, it means 'his fortune has increased immensely by the practice of charity' while in the case of the elephant, it means 'whose beauty has increased immensely by the flow of ichor.'

5. Here the pun is on the word Bahuvāhinīpati. In the case of the king it means the lord of many armies while in the case of sea, it means the lord of many rivers.

openly the enemy of the (three) cities i.e. Mahādeva, lord of Durgā[1] and torments Vāsuki possessing a supremely beautiful hood[2] on account of his fame.

3. JAHANGIR

श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं तव किमिति मषीसंगमात् कुत्र जातः
सोऽयं शीतांशु-कन्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जलं कज्जलाक्तम् ।
व्याकुप्यन्नूरदीन-क्षितिरमण-रिपु-क्षोणिभृत्-पक्ष्मलाक्षी-
लक्षाक्षीणाश्रु-धारा-समुदित-सरितां सर्वतः सङ्गमेन[3] ॥

Why is your sacred thread black?, On account of its contact with ink. Wherefrom is it?, From the water of the Narmadā. How did its water become tinged with collyrium? On account of its union with all around, the rivers originating from the ceaseless blow of tears of lakhs of the (beautiful) ladies with long eye-lashes (of the courts) of the hostile kings of the infuriated king Nūrdīna.

4. MUDDAFAR SHAH

आकाश प्रसर प्रसर्पत दिशस्त्वं पृथ्वि पृथ्वी भव
प्रत्यक्षीकृतमादिराज-यशसां युष्माभिरुज्जृम्भितम् ।
श्रीमुद्दाफर-शाह-पार्थिव-यशोराशेः समुज्जृम्भणाद्-
बीजोच्छ्वास-विदीर्ण-दाडिम-दशां ब्रह्माण्डमारोक्ष्यति ॥

1. Here the pun is on the word Durgādhiśa. i. The lord of many fortresses; ii. Siva, Lord of Durgā.

2. Here the pun is on the word भोगोन्नटश्री meaning in the case of the Emperor of Delhi—i. Whose great fortune increases enjoyment; and in the case of Vāsuki—ii. whose beauty is enhanced by its hood.

3. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, p. 703.

O sky, widen yourself; O quarters, you too extend yourselves; O earth! You too be larger; you (all) have witnessed the glorious upheaval of the fame of Veṇa. The Universe will attain the plight of a pomegranate bursting on account of the swelling up of the seeds due to the wide extension of the fame of king Muddafar Shah.[1]

5. NIZAM SHAH

१. [अथ सौन्दर्य-प्रधाना नृप-स्तुतिः]

अयं कामो निजामो वा किं त्वया न्ववधारितम् ।
इति दृष्टिरिव प्रष्टुं श्रुतिं श्रयति सुभ्रुवाम्[2] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

King's physical charm.

Whether this is Nizam or Cupid—what do you think—in order to ask this as it were the eye of the lovely-browed (ladies) approaches the ear.[3]

1. The sense is that the earth, etc. witnessed glory of former kings such as Veṇa but they did not burst then. The fame of Muddafar Shah is such that the earth is unable to bear it and is on the point of bursting asunder, so to speak.

2. Padya-racanā, 17.6.

3. I.e. the eyes of these damsels are so large that they are conceived as stretching up to the ear (ākarṇavistṛta). The sense is that even exquisitely beautiful damsels are enamoured of the physical charm of the king and taking him to be Cupid incarnate.

[अथ राज-वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह विलसत्-सिन्दूर-कुन्द-स्रजि
स्रष्टा त्वच्चरणं विधाय निदधे वैरि-श्रियो मूर्धनि ।
सीमन्तस्य चकास्ति काऽपि सरणिस्तस्योर्ध्व-रेखादयः
सिन्दूरस्य कणा जयन्ति किरणाः कुन्दानि मन्ये नखाः[1] ॥
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O Nizam Shah longed for by the world, the Creator made your foot and placed the same on the head of the beautiful wife of your rival king shining with vermilion and a garland of *kundas*.[2] The parting of the hair (of that lady) shines as the shooting upward lines of your feet; the particles of vermilion (looking like rays) triumph (too); and methinks, the *kundas* are the nails (of your feet).

[अथ राज्ञः सौन्दर्योत्कर्षवर्णनम्]

भेदो वाचि दृशोर्जलं कुचतटे स्वेदः प्रकम्पोऽधरे
पाण्डुर्गण्डतटी वपुः पुलकितं लीनं मनस्तिष्ठति ।
आलस्यं नयन-श्रियश्चरणयोः स्तम्भः समुज्जृम्भते
तत् किं राजपथे निजाम-धरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः[3] ॥
[भानुदत्त-कृत रस-मञ्जर्याः]

1. Padya-racanā, 16.4

2. So it turns out that the rival of the king is always under his control.

3. Rasa-mañjarī, Benares ed., v. 121, p. 190.

Bhānudatta gives this verse as an illustration of all the सात्त्विकभावs or bodily signs due to amorous sentiments manifesting themselves all together. The idea is that some lady has been subject to all the Sāttvika-bhāvas all at once; this is only possible if a handsome and pleasant personality

Personal charm.

The choking of the voice, water in both the eyes, perspiration of breasts, tremulation in the lower lip; cheeks white, (entire) body horripilated and the mind (is) merged; the dimness of the beauty of the eyes and the motionlessness of the feet are on the increase. Is it then that the Nizam is seen on the high street?,

[अथ खड्गः]

धरणिधर निजामशाह युष्मत्-कर-करवाल-कराल-कालसर्पः ।
द्विषदसु-पवनं निपीय पोनो दिशि दिशि मुञ्चति कञ्चुकं यशस्ते ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

The sword.

O King Nizam Shah, the terrible cobra in your hand, the sword, sucks in the vital breath of your enemies, attains obesity and leaves off its skin, your fame, on all sides.[1]

like the Nizam be seen by her. A lady, therefore, asks her friend or the lady undergoing the Sāttvika-bhāvas whether she has actually seen the Nizam on the High Street. "नहि तादृश-सुन्दरमन्तरेण सहैव सर्वे सात्त्विक-विकारा उल्लसेयुरिति तात्पर्यम् ।
इह स्वर-भङ्गाश्रु-स्वेद कम्प-वैवर्ण्य-रोमाञ्च-प्रलय-जृम्भा-स्तम्भाः स्फुटा एव । अधर-कम्पेन चुम्बन-स्पृहा ; गण्ड-पाण्डिम्ना विरह-कदनं ; मनोलीनतया तदेकतानत्वं बाह्यमेय-वैमुख्यं राज-विषयक-रतिश्च प्रतीयते ।"

1. The sword is here compared to a terrible cobra. A snake is conventionally supposed to live on air (Vāyubhuk). In the same manner, the sword is conceived as sucking in the life-breath (prāṇavāyu) of the enemies, that is why it becomes fat, and its old skin is torn asunder as a result,

क्षोणीकाम निजाम तावक-भुजं लब्ध्वा भुजङ्गेश्वरं

जानीमः करवाल-काल-भुजगी किं नाम गर्भिण्यभूत ।

यद्भिन्नेभ-कपोल-लोल विगलन्मुक्ता-कलापच्छला-

दच्छाण्ड-परम्परामधिरणं सूते स्फुरन्ती मुहुः[1] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

The sword of the Nizam

O Nizam longed for by the whole world, evidently your sword, a female-serpent, came into contact with your hand, lord of serpents, and became pregnant. Flashing again and again, she (the sword) is producing bright eggs one after another, in the guise of gems quickly dropping down from the shattered temples of (the) elephants (of rival kings[2]).

Description of his flag (a).

नृपति-निजाम-चमू-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।

रचयति बहिरिव रसनामरुण-ध्वज-कैतवादवनिः[3] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king's heroism gains a world wide repute.

1. PT. 85=SS. 134.

2. Here the sword of the king is conceived as a female serpent. King's hand as a male one. The king by means of his sword is mowing down the huge elephants of rival kings and the pearls from their heads are dropping down like eggs.

3. PT. 84=SS. 143=PV.131.

Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner.[1]

Description of his flag (b).

निजाम-वसुधाधिपे क्षिपति शोण-कोणे दृशौ
रणाङ्गण-समुद्भटैः प्रतिभटैर्विभिन्नीकृतम् ।
वपुर्विपुल-वेपथु व्यथितमब्जिनी-प्रेयसो
व्रण-ज्वर-विशङ्कया किमु पताकया स्पृश्यते[2] ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth, casts his angry look (at them), the rival fighters, very skilful in the battle-field, break atwain. The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i.e. the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores.[3]

1. The earth is conceived as a lady who being trampled down by the huge army of the Nizam puts out her tongue in exhaustion. The triumphant red banner of the Nizam is here conceived as the tongue of the exhausted earth. The sense is that the huge army of the Nizam conquered the entire world and unfurled their flag all over.

2. PV. 132.

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun. To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner wraps it up as it were. The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high.

दाने द्राघीयसि कपटतः स्वस्तटिन्या खटिन्या
रेखामेकां तव कृतवता पुष्करागार-भित्तौ ।
नैव प्रापि क्वचिदपि ततः श्रीनिजाम द्वितीय-
स्तेनाकारि स्थगित-मनसा वेधसा बिन्दुरिन्दुः[1] ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

Nizam's bounteousness.

O Nizam, a long series of (your) gifts continuing, Brahmā secretly drew a line on the wall of his lodge Puṣkara with a chalk, Mandākinī; then nowhere did he find a second to you, and therefore, he, stupefied, put in a full stop (by the side of that line) in the form of the moon.[2]

[राज-कीर्तिः]

विद्वद्गोष्ठी-गरिष्ठ प्रतिभट-दमन श्रीनिजाम प्रतीमः
कृत्वा त्वत्कीर्ति-गाथां वहति गण-विधिं पद्मयोनिः कठिन्या ।
वक्रा लेखा गुरूणाममृतकर-कला-कम्बु-मल्ली-मरालाः
शुद्धा लेखा लघूनां विस-भुजग-नभोनिम्नगा-दन्तिदन्ताः ।[3]
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned, the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

1. PV. 100
2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandākinī and the Moon respectively by way of recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of equally bountiful ruler. The Bhāgirathī is conceived here as a white chalk-mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full-stop excluding the possibility of any other equally liberal King.
3. Padya-racanā 8, p. 10.

appears that the lotus-born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables i.e, ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk. The moon-digits, the conch, the jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus-stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syallables).[1]

[राज-प्रताप-वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह भवतः प्रौढ-प्रतापानलै-
द्रागेव द्रव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।
भ्रश्यद्वासव-धाम-धोरणि मुहुर्मज्जद्ग्रह-ग्रामणि
त्रस्यत्-कामिनि निष्पतद्द्रुनि तलं मेरोः समुन्मीलति ॥[2]

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

1. In Sanskrit scanning long and short syllables are marked with curved (s) and vertical lines respectively. Brahmā is here represented as scannig the verse which he composed in praise of the Nizam i.e. marking the syllables with curved and vertical lines. Now, the poet artistically represents the curved neck of the Swan, etc. as the curved lines of Brahmā's scanning while the straight lotus-stalk, etc., as the vertical lines. The sense is that all animate and inanimate beings, not only human beings but also birds and beasts, etc., like elephant, swan, serpent and inanimate objects like Lotus, Jasmine, Kunda etc., are singing the praise of the King in unison.

2. PV. 69=SSS. 105.

into a liquid form speedily on account of the mighty fire of your prowess, the Meru or the golden mount,—bereft of the stairs of the abode of Indra,[1] with the foremost planet (i.e. the Sun) frequently setting,[2] all the women trembling, the forests gradually disappearing,—is becoming fully expanded.[3]

[अथ रण-यात्रा]

अङ्गाः संजात-भङ्गा घन-वनवसति-प्राप्तरङ्गाः कलिङ्गा-
स्तैलङ्गाः स्वर्ग-गङ्गाभिषवण-मतयः शीर्यदङ्गाश्च वङ्गाः ।
लाटाः खिद्यल्ललाटाः पद-गमन-दृढाः श्वासलोलाश्च चोला
जायन्ते श्रीनिजाम पृथरण (?) भवतः प्रौढनिःसाण-नादात् ॥

March for victory.

O, Nizam engaged in severe fight, the inhabitants of Aṅga take to hills; the Kaliṅgas take delight in residing in dense forest; the Tailaṅgas feel like bathing in the Mandākinī; the Bengalees become emaciated; the Lāṭas perspire on their forehead; the Colas (grow) deter-

1. According to Hindu mythology, the golden mount Meru or Sumeru forms the centre of the Universe round which all the planets revolve. It is supposed to be the abode of Brahmā and other gods. That is why, with the melting of the mountain, the stairs to the abode of Indra came to be destroyed.

2. The Sun being frightened of the prowess of the King thought it best to go on setting once and again.

3. As the melting gold scattered all around.

mined to walk about and (consequently) breathe heavily —due to the roaring sound of your departure.[1]

Description of the battle-field.

वाह-व्यूह-खुर-क्षतां वसुमतीं संवीक्ष्य मूर्च्छावतीं
भेरी-भाङ्कृति-चञ्चलेन पयसा वारांनिधिः सिञ्चति ।
दिग्बाला तनुते निजाम-नृपते वातं पताकांशुकै-
र्धूली-धोरणिरश्विनीसुतमिव प्रष्टुं दिवं धावति[2] ॥
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

Having seen the earth unconscious on account of the sores caused by the hoofs of arrays of horses, the sea sprinkles water—restless in mind (as is evidenced by) the loud sounds of trumpets.[3] The quarter-damsel[4] fans (the earth) with the clothes of the banners of the Nizam[5] and masses of dust dash towards the sky in order to ask the son of Aśvinī[6] (about the remedy for the recovery of the earth).

1. The sense is that the very preparations for Nizam's march for victory frighten all his rivals, not to speak of actual encounters with him.

2. PT. 91=SS. 168=PV. 133.

3. I.e. the roaring sound of the waves dashing against the beach.

4. The quarter is deified as a damsel.

5. I.e. the triumphant flags of the King are fluttering all around.

6. The Aśvinī-kumāras are divine physicians. This implies that the King had innumerable horses.

6. SHAH JAHAN

भूभृन्मौलि-तटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूप सरस्वती विजयिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमच्छाहिजहां ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्यां मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिरस्तन्मूर्धजोऽलीयति[1] ॥
॥ हरिनारायण-मिश्राणाम् ॥

When the dense cloud pours rain on the summits of the mountains, O king, the Sarasvatī becomes triumphant, sonorous and sanctifying. O Shah Jahan, I am telling you of her greatness—how the head of a person plunging her in water, is turned into a lotus and his hairs into bees.[2]

1. Padyaveṇī, 141 = SS. 138.
The PV. preserves another verse of the same author, viz. No. 872 (on the Ganges).

निर्गुणाऽपि सगुणा यतस्तरिस्तद्भ्रमात् त्रिपथगे समागतम् ।
त्वं करोषि सगुणं हि निर्गुणं नोचितं तदिह ते जगद्धिते ॥

2. The sense is that (i) the Sarasvatī swells up if there is heavy rain in the mountains; (ii) if the Emperor beheads the Kings, the red-coloured Sarasvatī comes into existence out of the blood flowing from them.

The first meaning is that the water of the Sarasvatī enhances the beauty of the bathers; the second meaning is that the destruction of the enemies by the king ensures the permanent peace and hapiness of the inhabitants.

For Jagannātha's verse referring to Shah Jahan, see p. 50 f.n. 1.

(दिल्लीवल्लभ-पाणि-पल्लव-तले नीतं नवीनं वयः ।)

7. SHER SHAH

श्लोकार्धे वा तदर्धे यदि हि विनिहितं दूषणं दुर्रुढैः

किं नश्छिन्नं तदा स्यात् कवि-कुल-विदुषां काव्य-कोटीश्वराणाम् ।

वाहाश्चेद् गन्धवाहाधिक-सुभग-रयाः पञ्चषाः काण-खञ्जाः

का हानिः सेरसाह-क्षितिप-कुलमणेरश्व-कोटीश्वरस्य ॥[1]

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

If the critics find some fault with one-half of a verse (of mine) or even with one-half of that (i.e. one-fourth of the whole verse), what harm accrues to me, the most learned of all poets and the composer of millions of poems. What is the harm accruing to the paramount lord Sher Shah if out of his million of horses, only five or six, speedier than air, happen to be one-eyed and lame.

1. SHV. 468

SUPPLEMENT

II

आसफ-विलास आख्यायिका

श्रीगजवदनाय नमः

अस्ति समस्त-प्रशस्त-भूपाल-मस्तक-मणि-मयूख-माला-लालित-चरण-नख-शरदिन्दु-चन्द्रिका-चय--चमत्कार--चुलुकित--चराचरांतर-तिमिर-धोरणिः सपुलक-सुरासुर-सुन्दरी-समुद्गीयमान-स्फारपारद-परंपरा-सहोदर-यशःसुधा-पटल-सङ्ग-वामाङ्कित-वामाङ्गीक--वामदेव-कलेवर-प्रतिभटीकृत--लोकालोकावनिधरो महस्तरुण-तरणि--किरण-सरणि-समुल्लासित-जगदण्ड-मण्डल-पुण्डरीकः साहिजहानाभिध-श्चक्रवर्ती ॥ अपि च ॥

पारींद्राणां धुरीणैरवनिधर-गुहा-गर्भतः प्रोत्पतद्भिः
स्वाप-भ्रंशापराध-प्रचलित-नयन-प्रांतमाकर्ण्यमानः ।
यत्प्रस्थानांतरुद्यत्प्रलय-जलधर-ध्वान-धिक्कार-धीरो
धृष्ट-क्षीरोद-तीरो जगति विजयते दुंदुभि-द्वंद्वनादः ॥१॥

द्वारांदोलन्मदांध-द्विरद-घनघटा-गण्ड-पट्ट-प्रसर्प-
द्दानोद्दाम-प्रणाली-मिलदलिवलयोद्गीत-चाप-प्रतापाः ।
भूपास्तेऽपि प्रभातोन्मद-कमलसमुल्लासि-शोभाभिरामां
दैन्य-ग्रामांधकार-क्षथन-दिनकृतो यस्य दृष्टिं श्रयन्ते ॥२॥

यस्योद्दाम-दिवानिशार्थि-विलसद्दान-प्रवाह-प्रथा-
माकर्ण्यावनि-मण्डलागत-वियद्वंदीन्द्र-वृन्दाननात् ।
ईर्ष्या-निर्भर-फुल्ल-रोमनिकर-व्यावल्गदूध[ः]स्रवत्-
पीयूष-प्रसरैः सुरेन्द्र-सुरभिः प्रावृट्पयोदायते ॥३॥

रुदतो निशि शैशवेन दूरीकृत-निद्रस्य गजाननस्य गौरी ।
उपगायति भीतये यदुद्यन्मद-यूथाधिप-यूथ-दानकीर्तिम् ॥४॥

स कदाचिद्विपुल-बल-वशीभवद्वसुमती-वलय-वेल्लनीकृत-यशो-विमलांशुकः, प्रचण्ड-भुज-दण्ड-मण्डली-भवत्कोदण्ड-निःसरत्कांड-खंडीकृताशेष-शात्रवः, करटतट-निर्गलन्मद-द्रव-निर्झराणां संप्रति समुत्पन्नानां धराधर-शिशूनामिव रिंगतां मतंगजानां संघट्टैः प्रथम-समागम-त्रस्त-नवांगना-नासाग्र-लंबि-मुक्ताफल-चापल-मलिम्लुचानां प्रतिखुरनिकर-शिलातल-संघट्ट-समुच्छलद्विद्युद्वल्लीकृत -विपुल--विस्फु-लिङ्गच्छटा-पटलानां वाजिनां राजिभिश्च समाकुलया सागर-सम-सेनया समावृतो विषमतरारोहावरोहाभि[ः] स्वरावृत्तिभिरिव क्लेश-प्रचुर-परिणाम-सुखाभिर्वैदिक-कर्म-सरणिभिरिव पद्धतिभिरना-कलित-दुःखलेशं कश्मीर-देशमाजगाम ॥

यस्मिन्ननवरतमपरिमित-पयोद-पटलपर्यापतत्प्रालेय-पुंज-पंजरितेन परितः स्फुरता राजत-प्राकारेणेव गौरी-गुरुणा हिमगिरिणा वेष्टिता, अमित-कुसुमामोद-माद्यन्मधु-व्रत-व्रात-गीत--माहात्म्यैः कैरपि परिणत-रसभार-तुंदिलानां फलानां प्रकरेणोपनम्र-शाखाशतै-रातिथेयैरिव गृहस्थैरसंख्यैः शोभिता, परिफुल्ल-पद्मिनी-परिषद्विधून-नोद्धूत-पराग-पटल-पांडुरितैश्चंचुपुटैरतिरस-लंपटाभिर्वरटाभिः कण्डू-यित-कपोलानां राजहंसानामावलिभिः सेवितैरेकीभवदिन्द्रनील-मणि-मयूख--मांसलानामंतर्विभावनाविशेष- विलोकनीय-शेष-शिखा--मणीनां सलिलानामाकरैः कमनीयतरा निबिडतर-शाड्वल-श्याम-लिम्ना मरकतमणिमयीव समुल्लसति वसुमती ॥

अथ तत्र सकल-सामन्त- चक्र-चूडा-चुम्बित-निखिल-भूमण्डल-मण्डनायित-चरण-कमल - परिमल-लम्पटीभवद्बहल-विबुधजन-व्रात-माद्यदिंदिंदिर-मञ्जुल-गुञ्जितैर्मुखरित - हरिदंतरालो विलसित-हिम-

शैल-शृंगस्खलत्तुंग-गंगा-तरंगाभिराम-त्विषा शरदभ्रालि-विभ्राजि-शुभ्रांशु-वरकिरण-कांतिद्विषा चतुरुदधि-पारश्लिषा यशः-सुधा-पटलेन परिपांडरित-जगदंड- मंडलोऽनवरत विद्वद्रु मद्रोहि - दारिद्र्य-माद्यद्द्विपोद्दाम-दर्पौघ-विद्रावणप्रौढ-पंचाननो महामहीरुह इव द्विजकुलायहितः क्रतुरिव (?) मधुरिव सकल-सुमनःप्रसादनोऽपि हिमांशुरिव सकलासुमनःप्रसादनः समरार्चितोऽप्यमरार्चितः सार्वभौमसंबंधिषु सकलेषु सामंतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य-कलापः काव्यकलापेष्विव ध्वनिः ध्वनिषु रसो रसेष्विव शृङ्गारः सकल-सहृदय-हृदयंगमेन महिम्ना मधुरिम्णा च संभावितः सकल -शास्त्र-सारावगाही नवाबासफजाही।

कदाचित्कुतुकाकुलतया विविध--सुमनः-समूह-सुषमा - समास्तरण-संभावित-विश्वंभरावलयम् उपरि - मिलदलि - पुंज - मंजुल-गुंजितैर्वन्दि-वृंद-वदन - विनिर्गत-विबुधविटपि-विजयविरुदावलीभिरिवानत-कंधरैरसंख्यैरवनीरुहैः कठिनकर-कर-निकर-संत्रासतः शरणागतैरिव तिमिर-कुटुंबैरंबुनिकुरुंबैरापूरिताभिर्वापीभिश्च मनोहरमेकीकृतमिव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मी-लावण्यं निशांतोपवनं प्रविशद्भि (?) वाङ्मनस-वर्त्मातिवर्ति-पुंजीकृत-सकल कुसुम-सौकुमार्य--सारमयैरवयवैः स्वयमनंगेनेव निर्मिताभिर्भृशं नयन-निपातस्थानीभवदंगाभिस्तनुतर-तनुच्छायादंतुरित-वनान्तराभिर्निकष-शिला-तलोल्लिखिताभिरिव कांचन--रेखाभिर्निबिडतर-नील--पयोद-भ्रमेणागताभिरिव सौदामिनीभिर्दर-- विकसित- रदन-मणि--किरण-सरणि-समाप्यायित-चकोरीभिरुपरि विभ्राम्यमाणेनापि स्वतो नीराजितात्मनेव परिफुल्ल-कमलेन राजित-कर--किशलयाभिर्दूरादुन्मुक्त-पाथोरुहाणामुन्मुखं धावतामुन्मत्तमधुव्रतानामालिभिराकुलीकृताभिः काभिरपि किंचिदुग्धपरिणत-फल-ग्रहण-लालसातितुङ्गीभवत्कुच-तट-

समापतत्प्रिय-नयन-संकोचेन चोन्नमित-परावर्तित-भुज-लताभिरन्याभिः कर-कमल-कलित - मुकुर-मंडल-प्रतिबिंबित-प्रिय-वदन-चुंबन-मुकुलीकृताधराभिः काभिरपि गायंतीभिः सारिका-बलि-वृथांगुली-कंप-संपादित-वीणागीत-भ्रमाभिरंगनाभिरनङ्गं समुल्लासयां-बभूव ॥

तं च गुणानां परस्पर-संसर्ग-जनित-गुरु-गर्व-निर्वासनाय विधिना निर्मितमिव सभा-मंडलं परम-सौन्दर्य-सुन्दरी-करण-लालित-लोचन-लोभनीयमूर्तिम्, ताश्चानंग-सर्वस्वायमान-रूप-यौवनशालिनीरत्वधीनभिरामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम-रसस्य अगोचरं कवि-गवीनाम्, तच्च निखिल-जन-नयन-निर्माण-साफल्यमिव वनमालोक्य चंडीश -कर-तांडवित-चंड दंडाहति - खंडीकृत-कोटि - कोटीर-कोटिभिर्धरणीतल-धूलि-धवलीभवद्दष्टांगाभिरामैः पितामहादिभिरमर-निकरैः सेवितं भगवंतममरेश्वराख्यं सदाशिवमर्चयितुमायातः कश्मीरमंडलम् आखंडलो नयन साहस्र विकृतीकृताननमात्मानं, सुकृति - परंपरोपभोग्यास्त्रिदशतरुणीर्निशांतोपवनापहृतरमणीयतया निज नयनानामनानंदनं [नं]दनं [च] नातिबहुमेने ।[1]

अथ सकल-लोक-निस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परंपराधीन-मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुद्यदनवद्य-हृद्य-गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक-विद्या-विद्योतितांतः-करणैः कविभिरुपास्यमानेन कृतयुगीकृत कलिकालेन कुमति तृणजाल-समाच्छादित-वेद-वन-मार्ग - विलोकनाय समुद्दीपित सत्तर्क-दहन-ज्वाला ज्वालेन मूर्तिमतेव नवाबासफखान-मनःप्रसादेन द्विजकुल-

1. It is surprising that the MS. having the colophon alright should have such an abrupt conclusion. Evidently, some portion is missing here.

सेवा-हेवाकि-वाङ्मनःकायेन मुखर-कुलसमुद्रेंदुना राय-मुकुंदेनाऽऽदिष्टेन श्रीसार्वभौम-साहिजहान-प्रसादाधिगत - पंडितराय-पदवी-विराजितेन लै(तै?))लंग-कुलावतंसेन पंडित-जगन्नाथेनाऽऽसफविलासाख्येयमाख्यायिका निरमीयत। सेयमनुग्रहेण सहृदयानामनुदिनमुल्लसिता भवतात्॥

इति श्रीतैलंग-वेंगिनाटीय-कुलोद्भव-श्रीपंडितराज-जगन्नाथ-विरचिता आख्यायिका समाप्ता॥

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF VERSES QUOTED IN THE WORK (EXCEPT THOSE IN THE SUPPLEMENTS).

The *Pratikas* of the verses quoted in this work as such have not been reproduced here.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF VERSES QUOTED IN THE SUPPLEMENTS

APPENDIX III

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE VERSES OF BHĀNUKARA QUOTED IN THE PADYA-RACANĀ

The first figure against each *Partika* refers to the page of the Padya-racanā and the second to the verse number as given in that page.

List of Abbreviations

PR. = Padya-racanā
PT. = Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī
PV. = Padya-veṇī
RM. = Rasa-mañjarī
RT. = Rasa-taraṅgiṇī
SA. = Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa
SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvalī
SS. = Sūkti-sundara
SSS. = Subhāsita-sāra-samuccaya

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